





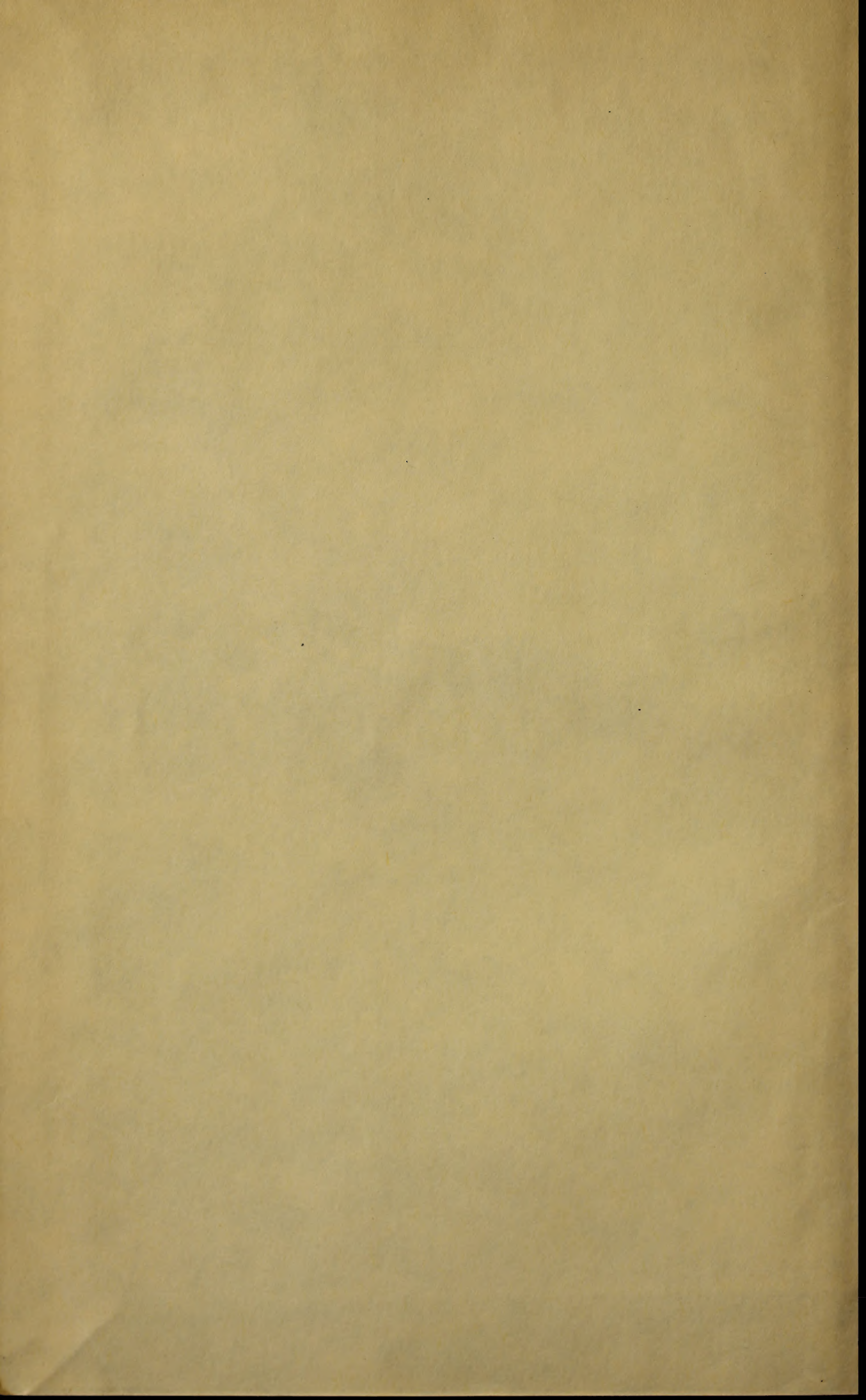
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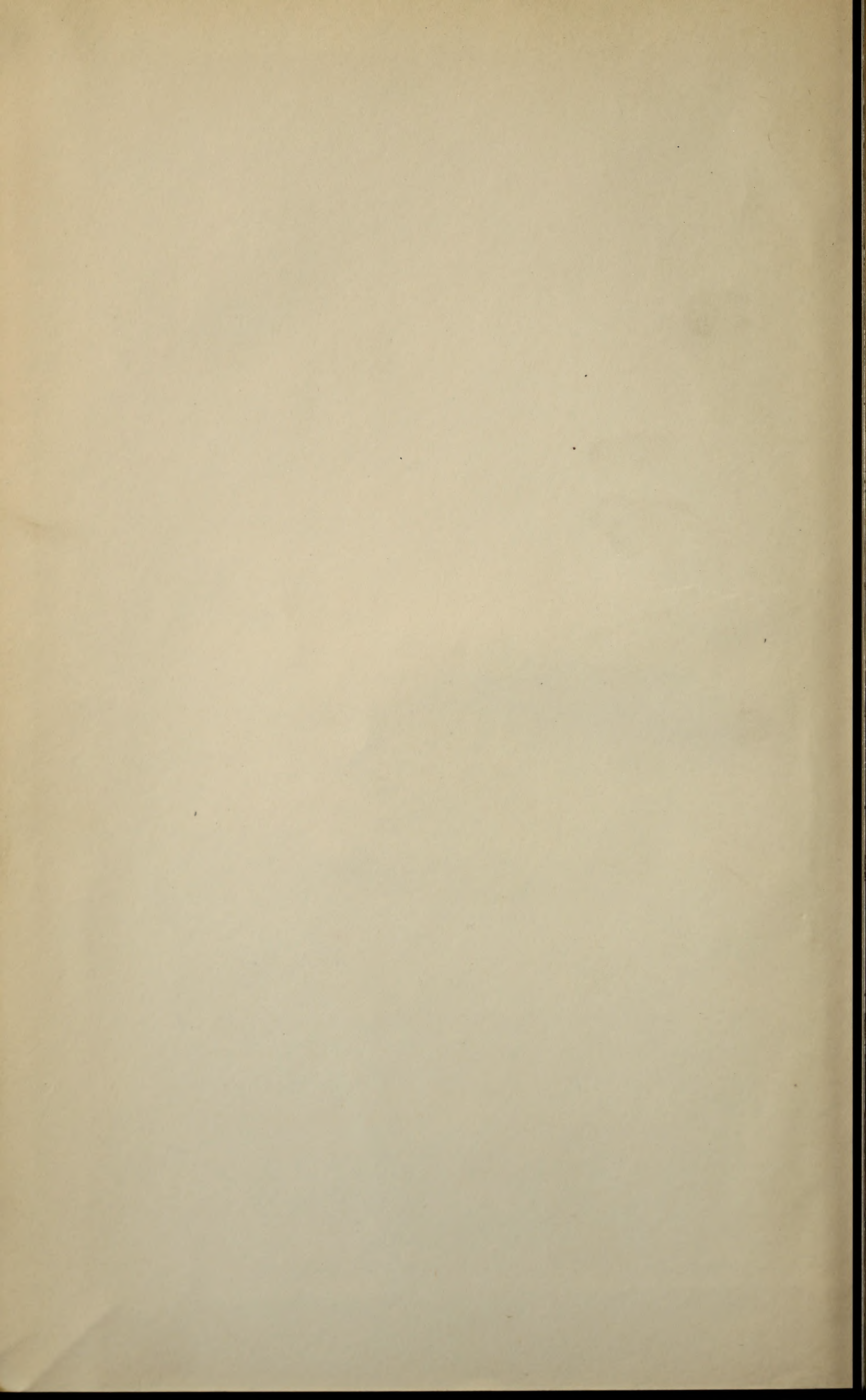














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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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*Published by the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.*

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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VOLUME IX

JANUARY, 1932

NUMBER 1

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## THE ATTITUDE OF THE NORTH CAROLINA MORAVIANS TOWARD THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY RUTH BLACKWELDER

It is not surprising that our Revolutionary forefathers failed to sympathize with the stand of the Moravians against military service since even today an alien who hesitates to swear "to defend" the country is refused naturalization, despite the fact that many twentieth-century nations, the United States included, have outlawed war. The attitude of the Moravians toward war was the result of long experience. Centuries before coming to America, the Brethren had taken up arms only to be crushed. They had seen that their numbers increased when they heroically suffered persecution, but that in battle they were destroyed.

### THE BRETHREN BEFORE 1763

It is not purposed to review the annals of the *Unitas Fratrum*, now commonly known as the Moravian Church, but it is necessary to trace briefly the history of the origin and development of its anti-militaristic attitude.

Bohemia was the original home of the Brethren and Moravia has often been called the twinland of their birth. The Slavonians must have settled in Bohemia during the fifth century. Czech was their legendary leader and they came to call themselves Czechs.

During the first five centuries of their history [the Czechs] were devoted to the pursuits of peace; whenever they took up arms, it was in self-defence. They tilled the ground, raised cattle, and opened an extensive traffic with neighboring nations in grain and horses. Patient industry distinguished them, and a tenaciousness which has become proverbial.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. De Schweinitz, *The History of the Church Known as the Unitas Fratrum*, p. 6.



The light of Christianity first shone in Moravia in the ninth century. It came from the Roman Church through the Franks; however, the Christian Church in Bohemia and Moravia received its greatest impetus from two missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, who came from the Greek Church at Constantinople. In 1079 Bohemia and Moravia were brought under the Roman Hierarchy, and thereafter Bohemia was a battleground for the early struggle between a simple faith and "a religion overburdened with rites and ceremonies." The common people clung to the simple religion that the Eastern missionaries had taught, and John Hus in the fifteenth century was "ordained to wake religious liberty from its sleep."

The *Unitas Fratrum* was founded by the followers of Hus. The law of Christ was their guide, and this law, as worded by one of their advisors, Peter Chelcicky, was "to love God above all and one's neighbor as oneself." Many of Hus's disciples perished in the Husite Wars which followed his death at the stake; however, there were others who continued to live quietly according to his principles. In 1457 they sought to form an association to aid them in living Christian lives and the "Unity of Brethren" was the result.

It may be well to note here one of the teachings of their leaders. Peter Chelcicky had taught that

. . . Under all circumstances the divine law is sufficient; and Christianity constitutes the kingdom of liberty. . . . If all men were true Christians there would be no necessity for kings or lords. Worldly government originates in sin and is an evil, but a necessary evil over against iniquity. . . .

Nothing, however, excites the indignation and horror of Chelcicky so much as war. It is absolutely inadmissible; a warrior is a murderer; to shed human blood, even in the way of self-defence or of capital punishment, constitutes an abominable sin. His literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount leads him, moreover, to forbid his followers to appeal to the secular arm, to take an oath, or to fill a civil office. They must humbly and patiently bear injustice, never avenge themselves, neither murmur nor be profane, but imitate Christ who was brought as a lamb to the slaughter and opened not his mouth.<sup>2</sup>

Chelcicky died about the time that the *Unitas Fratrum* was organized, but in their first formal confession, which was written by

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<sup>2</sup> De Schweinitz, *op. cit.*, p. 97 *et seq.*



Gregory, the Patriarch in 1468, the Brethren said, "Judicial oaths and military service are inadmissible."<sup>3</sup>

The Diet of St. James in 1508 forbade the Brethren public or private worship, and during the persecution which followed some of them proved unfaithful, but the unflinching zeal of others gained new followers. At the time of the Protestant Reformation, the Unity probably had four hundred churches and 200,000 members in Moravia and Bohemia.

In the Schmalkaldic War, soon after Martin Luther's death, the Protestant nobles of Bohemia refused to help their king, Ferdinand, against the Protestant German princes; in fact, they made an effort to send troops to the Elector of Saxony who headed the Schmalkaldic League. A number of the Bohemian nobles, who aided the Elector, were members of the *Unitas Fratrum*. Ferdinand was successful and according to his decree in 1548, all persons living on royal estates had either to join the Roman Church, or to leave the country within six weeks. This caused an exodus of Brethren to Prussia and Poland.

In 1608 Rudolph called upon the Bohemians to aid him in battle, but the Protestant nobles refused until he signed the Bohemian Charter which granted full religious liberty to Bohemia and Moravia and revoked all edicts against Protestants. Because of persistent disregard of this charter, the Protestant leaders decided to defend their liberty by force of arms. But their arms were not able to defend them; they were defeated by Ferdinand II in 1620 and heroically paid for their boldness with their lives. Clergymen were given three days to leave Prague, and eight to leave Bohemia. More than thirty-six thousand families are said to have left Bohemia and Moravia. The Brethren settled in Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, Prussia, and Silesia. They stayed together, as far as possible, with the hope of reorganizing, but for one hundred years the *Unitas Fratrum* was "Hidden Seed."

In 1722 some of the "Hidden Seed" emigrated from Moravia to Saxony and settled on Count Zinzendorf's estate, forty-five miles east of Dresden. Neighbors called these newcomers "Moravians." Count Zinzendorf was a Lutheran nobleman, but after careful study,

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.



he decided to give up his position at the court, and ultimately became the leader of the Unity of Brethren. The Unitas Fratrum was reorganized in 1727. Their new settlement, which they called Herrnhut, grew and became so prosperous that it aroused jealousy and antagonism among the neighboring people. In 1736 Zinzendorf suffered banishment from his estates and not until 1747 was the edict against him removed. Prior to this he had decided that it would be wise to have an assured retreat should the Brethren be forced to leave Herrnhut; therefore, a grant was secured from the trustees of Georgia and in 1735 a Moravian settlement was begun in the young frontier colony. After five years the Brethren were able to repay the amount they had borrowed from the trustees and were just ready to start out free of debt when Georgia became a battleground in the long struggle between England and Spain. The Brethren remembered that "the effort of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum to defend its faith by force of arms had led to destruction,"<sup>4</sup> and the Georgia Moravians gave up their homes, for which they had labored five years, rather than take up arms to defend them. They migrated to Pennsylvania and joined with other Moravians to found the settlement of Bethlehem. Their worth to Pennsylvania became well recognized.

The English government wished to encourage the migration of the Moravians to the English colonies in America, and Parliament, in 1749, passed an act with that object in view. The act recognized the Unitas Fratrum as an ancient protestant episcopal church; and it released the Moravians from taking an oath, declaring that their "solemn Affirmation or Declaration" was by law to have the "same Force and Effect," but no Brethren "by Virtue of this Act [were] qualified to give evidence in any Criminal Causes, or to serve on Juries." It was further enacted that every member of the Unitas Fratrum should be exempt from military service in any English colony or province in America upon payment of the sum required in lieu of personal service.<sup>5</sup>

The reputation of the Moravians as desirable citizens did not escape Lord Granville who was seeking new settlers for his district in North Carolina, and he suggested to them that they buy lands

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<sup>4</sup> Fries and Pfohl, *The Moravian Church*, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Adelaide L. Fries, *Moravian Records*, I, 24.



there. Following up this suggestion, in 1752 Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg and five other Brethren came to North Carolina to select a tract of land for their settlement. The nineteen deeds, signed August 7, 1753, to land on the east side of the Yadkin River, which was "full of springs, rivulets, and creeks, well timbered, and for the greatest part, good for agriculture and raising cattle," were made to James Hutton, Gentleman of London, Secretary to the *Unitas Fratrum*. He held this tract of 98,985 acres "in Trust and for the Use, Benefit and Behoof of the said *Unitas Fratrum*."<sup>6</sup>

The Moravians came to North Carolina with the determination of planting a settlement based on their own peculiar doctrines and practices. They lost no time in laying the foundation of their first town which they called Bethabara. A few years later they found it necessary to build a new town, Bethania, in order to take care of the refugees during the French and Indian War. Their central town, Salem, was not begun until 1766.

The Moravians had suffered in their frontier home in Georgia during the War of Jenkins' Ear and the continued hostility between England and Spain; their new settlement in North Carolina, which was known as Wachovia, soon became an outpost during the French and Indian War. Fortunately, the Cherokees remained comparatively quiet until 1759; but they continually passed through Wachovia where they were treated kindly. In 1756 the Moravians were told that the Cherokees had joined the French and the Brethren with their usual care planned to defend themselves. An "Hourly Intercession" was organized, and the Brethren decided that a palisade should be built around the houses. Christian Henrich Rauch told them that neighboring families were moving away and that they were being left alone on the frontier. He said "for himself he had no fear, he was chiefly considering the others, but foresight was seemly for the Children of God."<sup>7</sup> The news soon spread that Bethabara was a place of refuge, and many frontier families came for protection when they heard rumors of Indian uprisings.

In 1757 the Brethren petitioned Governor Arthur Dobbs to appoint Jacob Loesch as captain of an independent company of Dobbs Parish. Their petition showed that they were not willing to engage

<sup>6</sup> *Moravian Records*, I, 66.

<sup>7</sup> *Moravian Records*, I, 170.



in battle, but that they would make every effort to protect Wachovia from attack.<sup>8</sup> The governor granted the request. Those in authority evidently felt that the Brethren by their kindness had delayed the outbreak of Indian hostilities.

On October 12, 1759, William Churton, the surveyor, brought a sworn statement that "the Cherokees and Creeks [had] declared war on all white people in the whole country."<sup>9</sup> A strict watch was kept; Indian spies were driven off by guns; the fortifications were strengthened; and a larger amount of ammunition was brought to Bethabara.

The Brethren were greatly relieved to learn that "the two back counties of Rowan and Anson [were] exempted from forced draft, and only volunteers [were to] be taken from them for the expedition against the Cherokees."<sup>10</sup> It was thought unwise to weaken these frontier counties by drafting their men for the army.

During the year 1760 the Moravians kept watch night and day. They let the Indians see them carrying guns as they went about the town. Later they learned that the redmen had planned several attacks on Wachovia but were frightened away by the bell for the evening service, and by the horn which was only the sentinel's announcement of the passing of another hour. Toward the end of the year 1761 peace was made with the Cherokees, and a "final" peace was made between France and England in 1763.

#### THE BRETHREN DURING THE REVOLUTION, 1763-1776

The troubles of the Moravians did not end with the treaty of 1763. The next twenty years were truly "times that try men's souls." The Brethren purposed to be peaceful and obedient to those in authority, but the time came when they had to decide who exercised the lawful authority—whether they would remain loyal to the King, or would transfer their allegiance to the new State. The years from 1763 to 1776 were uncertain years. The Brethren kept themselves informed on the happenings of their day, but they wished to have nothing to do with disorder and continually prayed, "From tumult and uproar, deliver us, oh God!"

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 182.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 213.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 215.



In 1765 the Stamp Act stirred up protests throughout the colonies. In the fall of the year, the Moravians learned of the actions of the various northern colonies and also of the resistance in the Cape Fear section. They took no part in the protest, and after the act was repealed in 1766, the pastor wrote in his *Memorabilia* of the year:

In spite of the critical and apparently dangerous unrest in this Province on account of the Stamp Act, the mighty arm of our Heavenly Father has been held over us, so that nothing has been demanded of us contrary to our conscience, but under His protection we have remained peaceful and undisturbed as the quiet people of the land.<sup>11</sup>

In 1773 Parliament passed the famous Tea Act. Traugott Bagge wrote in 1774 that this act little affected North Carolina due to the fact that she had no good harbor, "and most of the people considered the acts of the other Colonies as madness, though there were some who approved of what had been done. They belonged to the Presbyterian Party, which undermined the influence of Governor Martin from time to time."<sup>12</sup>

In North Carolina, in addition to the resistance to recent acts of Parliament, there were protests against the excessive local taxes. The people in the central part of the colony, where Wachovia was located, had been forced to pay exorbitant and illegal taxes and fees which in many instances never reached the public treasury, but found their way into the pockets of local officials. It seems probable that if time had been given, the Assembly would have relieved the people of their grievances, but legislative reform moved too slowly for the oppressed people; they organized for purposes of regulating their county affairs, adopted the name Regulators, and in 1771 took up arms against the provincial government. They had suffered much at the hands of local officials, but their violent methods turned the leading men of the Province against them. The Brethren would not be drawn into the movement, and as Frederic William Marshall said in October, 1770, "our quiet life is a thorn in the eye to them." The Brethren tried to prove their loyalty to the governor by sending a quantity of zwieback from their bakery to Hillsboro for his forces which he had raised to

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<sup>11</sup> *Moravian Records*, I, 322.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 808. Josiah Martin qualified as governor of North Carolina, August 12, 1771.



suppress the rebellion. The Regulators were defeated in the Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771. Governor Tryon later declared that the Brethren were the only denomination in the Province that showed complete loyalty to the government during this uprising and that there would be no rebellion if there were only Moravians in the colony.

The year 1771 has been called the birthday of the Southern Province of the Moravian Church. This meant that Wachovia then became an independent, self-governing province of the Church and would no longer be closely supervised from Pennsylvania and Europe. It did not mean, however, that correspondence would cease. The Wachovia Brethren were greatly influenced during the struggle for American independence by the stand of the Brethren at Bethlehem; however, they had the authority to act for themselves. The Wachovia Brethren were very cautious during those testing years,—they realized that their actions in North Carolina might cause the Brethren in England and in the West Indies to suffer. Then, too, the Moravians had not felt the injustice of the royal instructions to the governors relative to religion as had the Dissenting denominations. In 1755 the Assembly had recognized Wachovia as a separate parish of the Established Church, called Dobbs Parish, and this fact had caused their Dissenting neighbors to be envious of them for the Established Church enjoyed many privileges. The Presbyterians had especially fought for the privileges enjoyed by the Established Church.

The last royal assembly was dissolved by Governor Martin on April 8, 1775, because it endorsed the proceedings of the Continental Congress. The governor asked one of the Surry representatives what stand the Brethren were taking and was told "that we were having nothing to do with the matter, and the Governor replied that that was what he expected to hear."<sup>13</sup>

The journal of the Provincial Congress of April, 1775, as printed in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina* fails to show that Surry County was represented, but the *Moravian Records* state that James Glen, a Tory, and Robert Lanier, a Liberty man, passed through Wachovia on their way to New Bern to represent Surry County and that James Glen stopped on his return. The Surry delegates had been

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<sup>13</sup> *Moravian Records*, II, 871.



instructed "not to mix in the affairs of Boston, but to strive for just laws." <sup>14</sup>

The Continental Congress avowed loyalty to King George III, but opposed the British Ministry and Parliament and all acts that infringed the rights of American subjects. The last of June, 1775, John Michael Graff wrote,

In Mecklenburg County, where they have unseated all Magistrates and put Select Men in their places, they are threatening to force people, and us in particular, to sign a Declaration stating whether we hold with the King or with Boston, but we think that for the present these are only threats. If a higher authority should ask such a Declaration of us, we think we will follow the form of the Declaration made by the Congress in Philadelphia concerning King George III, but say nothing whatever about the points at issue, which we do not understand. If a tax is laid on the people and we are expected to share in it, it will probably be better to bear what cannot be changed, than to refuse and so come into a much worse position. Such a course brought us fairly well through the recent Regulator confusion. . . .<sup>15</sup>

In 1775, the Brethren, Traugott Bagge, Jacob Blum, and George Hauser, Sr., were asked to serve on the Committee of Safety in Surry County but excused themselves since military service was to be instituted and the Brethren would not bear arms. The people of Surry County evidently had confidence in Traugott Bagge for they asked him to serve as a delegate to the Provincial Congress, provided he had no objections, but on Jacob Blum's advice, he declined.<sup>16</sup>

The Brethren were truly in a most trying position. During the last of July, 1775, when asked if they favored liberty, the Brethren replied in general that in the "litany each Sunday prayer is offered for King George III." They urged all Moravians to guard their speech, for the light remark of an unthinking Moravian was apt to be accepted as what all Moravians thought. The Brethren had supplied the Whigs with lead; they had furnished supplies from their stores and workshops and had taken the new paper money for payment; but at the close of the year 1775 they were still praying for a peaceful and happy reign for King George III. The following declaration

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 843.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 875 *et seq.*

<sup>16</sup> *Moravian Records*, II, 904.



was drawn up during the year, but whether it was ever presented to any one is not known:

That they wished to remain true to the King; that they desired all good for the Province of North Carolina, and would continue to do their best for it according to their ability; that they relied upon their Privilege for freedom of conscience and exemption from bearing arms, and in the last event claimed the indulgence, which the Assembly of Pennsylvania had already granted; that they would never do aught which might work harm to the Province; and that they would pray to God to end the present distress and grant an honorable peace.<sup>17</sup>

The Whigs of North Carolina were patient with the Loyalists as long as the latter remained quiet, but in 1776 they became active and henceforth the State adopted a stern policy toward them. During January and February, 1776, many communities were visited by Governor Martin's emissaries. At three different times these agents visited Salem in attempts to enlist the Moravians in the royal cause. A rumor spread that Governor Martin himself was in Wachovia, and on February 7 people came to Bethabara to see if the report were true. They told the Brethren that the Whigs had threatened to burn the Moravian towns. The following quotation, which tells of the visit of a Loyalist captain, gives the Moravians' stand at this time:

Jan. 7. Capt. Heinrich Herrman himself came to Br. Bagge, asked his opinion about present conditions in the land, and whether we would not set ourselves against them and join the other party? It does not accord with our character as Brethren to mix in such political affairs, we are children of peace, and wish peace with all men; whatever God lays upon us that will we bear, etc.; and with this as answer he left.<sup>18</sup>

The Liberty Party was not certain that the Brethren were loyal to the State for many rumors had been started about their aiding the governor. The following incident was a source of grave misunderstanding which threatened to involve the Brethren in serious trouble. They had some salt at Cross Creek [now Fayetteville] and sent nine wagons to get it. The wagons reached Cross Creek just as the King's standard had been raised, which was followed by the Battle of Moore's

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 851.

<sup>18</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1044, *et seq.*



Creek, and this fact led to accusation that the Moravians had sent the wagons to aid the governor. As a matter of fact, they were stopped on their return by Loyalists who "refused to let the wagons pass, and with many curses threatened to empty the salt on the ground and ruin it rather than let it be used by the Rebels. They also cursed the Moravians for helping the Rebels to live by getting salt for them." After a twenty-four-hour delay the wagons were permitted to go on to Wachovia.<sup>19</sup> On February 15, Captains John Armstrong and Jesse Walton from the Rowan Committee of Safety, Colonel Martin Armstrong from the Surry County Committee, and William Sheppard and about sixty Minute-men came to Wachovia to investigate the wagon affair. The Brethren were able to answer all questions to the entire satisfaction of the commission. Throughout the war most of the officials respected the Moravians and their explanation of a misunderstanding was invariably accepted without further inquiry.

Heavy demands were made on the Moravians for supplies for the Liberty forces. One of Colonel Martin Armstrong's orders called for two thousand pounds of meat and a quantity of meal sufficient for two hundred and fifty men for eight days. Lead, sugar, coffee, and tobacco were also furnished by their stores, and in August, 1776, Traugott Bagge had to advance £146 for the expedition against the Cherokees. The Brethren commented: "The poor men must and will make war, but have none of those things that are necessary."<sup>20</sup> The supplies furnished were paid for, but in depreciated paper currency.

Most of the Moravians had conscientious scruples against bearing arms. It would have been easier to have entered the service than to have borne the criticism and embarrassment to which their belief subjected them. Some of the Brethren were afraid to take their stand boldly, and therefore, hid their sons when the soldiers passed through that section. There were others who permitted their sons to enter the army. It will be remembered that Bethania had many settlers who had only recently become Brethren. It was natural that they should not have the feeling against bearing arms that the older Brethren had. John Michael Graff in a letter to the Bethlehem Brethren stated that three young men from Bethania had joined the expedition against the Indians, and added, "they seem to have more

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1027.

<sup>20</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1053.



desire for this than to be Brethren." The real Brethren were conscientiously opposed to military service and, therefore would not fight; but they made no effort to influence non-communicants to follow their example.

On April 12 the Provincial Congress, in session at Halifax, authorized the North Carolina delegates in the Continental Congress to vote for independence. On April 19, 1776, this Congress also passed the following resolution which showed that it recognized the Brethren's stand against bearing arms:

Resolved, That there are a number of persons called Quakers, Moravians and Dunkards, who conscientiously scruple bearing arms, and as such have no occasion for fire arms, that they be informed, that it is the sense and confident expectation of this Congress, that they will dispose of their fire arms to the said commissioners, they receiving the full value thereof; but that no compulsion be exercised to induce them to this duty.<sup>21</sup>

The Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, but a copy of the Declaration was not posted in Salisbury until August. The Moravians promptly recognized the Continental Congress as the central authority in the colonies, and their church litany was changed: instead of praying for their good King George III, they then prayed for the land and the rulers of the land.<sup>22</sup> The Revolutionary period closed with the Brethren giving positive aid to the forces of liberty, and praying that the war would soon cease.

#### THE BRETHREN DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1777-1783.

The royal government had permitted the Brethren to establish the Wachovia settlement according to their own peculiar beliefs. Governors Tryon and Martin had visited Wachovia and, impressed by the Moravians' industry and order, had granted them many privileges. The Brethren had become known as obedient subjects who never questioned the authority of the existing government. They believed that it was their duty either to be loyal to those in authority or to seek a new country. Under these conditions, it was only

<sup>21</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 526.

<sup>22</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1100.



natural that they should have remained loyal to King George until his authority was no longer recognized by the American colonies. When it seemed to them that Congress exercised the lawful authority, they promptly transferred their allegiance to the new government.

The Brethren tried to answer all calls from the new government, and since March 14, 1777, was set aside by its officials as a day of "Humiliation and Prayer," it was solemnly observed in all the Moravian congregations. Bishop Graff preached in Salem at ten o'clock in the morning and,

In reference to the present day he called attention to the prayer in the Litany: Teach us to seek the welfare of the land where Thou hast placed us, saying that it is our duty to take a sympathetic share in the weal and in the woe of the land in which we dwell, the more so that we have already experienced some of the trials induced by the present calamitous state of the country. In closing a prayer was offered for this land, for its rulers and its people, and they were commended to the mercy of God, with petitions for the re-establishment of peace.<sup>23</sup>

The Brethren did not want to be called Tories. In the Salem Board Minutes of July 3, 1780, one of their leaders is reported as having said, "Our Brethren shall not permit themselves to be called Tories, which slanders them." Again in October, 1780, dislike at being called Tories was expressed:

It is our duty, in speaking with outsiders about our position in these political circumstances, that we allow no one to doubt that we are faithful subjects of the State. Even without an Affirmation our conscience would have required that we be loyal to the State, according to Romans 13, 1, but in addition we have taken the Affirmation in the sight of God. Our character as an honorable people requires that we maintain this position, so that everyone may acknowledge us as faithful subjects of the State, which will give us standing with this party, and will not bring us into danger from their opposers, for in all the world it is required that fidelity be pledged to the party of government that is in power, and that due submission shall be made to it. It is painful for us, it is unendurable, and in the end dangerous, if we permit ourselves to be accused of being Tories, and we are to consider this term of reproach as an injury, not as dishonor to be borne for the sake of Christ, and we shall not let it rest upon us.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1144 et seq.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, MS., "Salem Board Minutes," Oct. 19, 1780.



The Moravians carefully respected the privilege of exemption from personal military service which was granted them by the state government. Brethren who were given certificates of exemption were admonished when their conduct was not proper; and certificates were not given to those who had taken the state oath. The Salem diarist made an interesting comment in this connection: "they ought to make up their minds whether they were going to follow the Brethren fully or whether they would do as other men were doing, and not try to be on both sides at once."<sup>25</sup> In 1781 the Brethren decided to give certificates only to members who were loyal to their principles.

During the war the Moravians were very strict about admitting new members to the Unity. They opened their religious services to all who wished to attend, but they did not allow slackers and Tories to hide within their membership. William Douthit wished to become a Moravian; he was permitted to attend the Society meetings, but the Brethren said membership in the Unity would be refused him "until he is cured of his affection for the Tory cause." In 1781 they decided to receive no new members for they did not care to deprive the State of able soldiers.

The North Carolina Moravians had not followed Bishop Spangenberg's suggestion in regard to participation in the colonial government. When they first came to the province, they took no part in politics but during the war their attitude changed. They decided that it was their duty to participate in elections since it was for the welfare of the country, and in 1782 they went so far as to say that public service would benefit them. The entry in the Salem Diary for May 20, 1782, notes Bagge's appointment as auditor for Surry County.

The Moravians had come to America to enjoy the privileges granted by the act of Parliament of 1749. This act, it will be remembered, exempted them from military service provided they made a cash payment in lieu of personal service. The North Carolina Militia Act of 1777 required a person, who was called for active service, to go himself, or to send a substitute, or to pay £10. The Moravians in Salem and Bethabara did not an-

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<sup>25</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1312.



swer the muster calls of that year and were not fined, but some of the Friedberg members had to pay the required £10.<sup>26</sup> There were Brethren who attended the muster and served in the army,<sup>27</sup> but, as a rule, these had only recently joined the Unity and did not have conscientious scruples against bearing arms.

The Militia Act of 1778 required each county to furnish its quota of men for the army. By this act the Moravians were subject to draft. They could, however, furnish substitutes and provide clothing, or they could have the commanding officer secure the substitutes; should they refuse to furnish the required money a levy would be made on their property. A fine of £25 was required for each man who refused to serve when drafted.<sup>28</sup> Three Brethren were drawn in the draft of 1778. Loyal Brethren would not go to battle; was it right for them to pay for substitutes? The Brethren came to the following decision on May 21, 1778: "We Brethren do not bear arms, and we neither will do personal service in the army nor enlist others to do it; but we will not refuse to bear our share of the burden of the land in these disturbed times if reasonable demands are made."<sup>29</sup> Since the Brethren, therefore, refused to secure substitutes for the three members who were drawn in the draft, the sheriff of the county brought a warrant on Traugott Bagge for £333. This was paid without a levy on the property of the Unity.

In August, 1778, Jacob Blum and Traugott Bagge took a petition to the assembly at Hillsboro which asked that the Brethren be permitted to pay a tax instead of a fine for non-attendance on militia duty.<sup>30</sup> This request was not granted in August, but a second petition, which was presented in January, 1779, was favorably received by the assembly, which granted to Moravians, who would pay a triple tax, exemption from personal military service. Another act that was passed in the fall of 1779 relieved any Moravian "orphan under the age of sixteen years, or widow, or any person of fifty years and upwards"<sup>31</sup> from paying the threefold tax.

<sup>26</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1129 *et seq.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1341.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1250.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1232.

<sup>30</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1207.

<sup>31</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 282.



The Moravians were entirely willing to give financial and material aid to the American army. In speaking of the army they used several expressions: "our troops," "the army in the South," and "our army." The officers and privates who stopped in Wachovia were appreciative of the Brethren's good service. A troop of cavalry from Pulaski's Legion spent four days in Wachovia in the spring of 1779 and "could not say enough concerning their appreciation of the care which had been taken of them." The Moravians, whose highest aim in life was to be worthy servants of the Lord, realized that they could serve their God by being kind to the strangers that came within their gates, and through the troublesome years, they were continually given opportunity to aid others. There were many people who imposed upon them; for instance, Major Goode's horsemen, who came to Salem on the night of June 26, 1780, had been at Belews Creek which was just as near their own homes as it was to Salem. In the Bethabara Diary for October 25, 1780, the diarist makes the following entry: "In providing for the people who are here we had no meal for ourselves, and could not bake."

The year 1781 brought the war very near Wachovia. The Brethren felt that they should not seek to escape its burdens, but should endure their part of the terrible struggle. They seriously considered putting up a building to accommodate the soldiers who came through Wachovia, but they found that would be impossible. Some of the Brethren opposed the idea on the ground that it would draw more soldiers than ever to their towns, and the Brethren were already serving beyond their capacity. The Brethren did build a magazine to be used in making powder. Their part in the Battle of Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781, consisted in caring for the wounded; and their kindness to the sick, who were left with them, changed the hearts of many who had opposed them. The Brethren felt that the war had given them "more unity of heart and more brotherly and helpful sharing in each other's circumstances."<sup>32</sup>

The British as well as the American army sought food, clothing, and other provisions from the Brethren. In February, 1781, the British army camped on their lands. General Greene told the Mora-

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<sup>32</sup> *Moravian Records*, IV, MS., "Wachovia Memorabilia," 1781.



vians that he could not protect them as the enemy were already upon them. Their visit caused the Moravians to lose "in cattle, grain, hay, brandy and fences as much as £1500, value in good money." After they were gone, one of their neighbors brought them five bushels of corn as he feared the British had left them nothing.

Many people thought a man had to fight to prove his loyalty, and that a person who would not engage in battle was a Tory. Various visitors told the Moravians that they had heard they were Tories, which was due to their not serving in the army. Some of the radical Whigs threatened to harm the Brethren, and it is interesting to know that Colonel Armstrong gave Traugott Bagge a "written protection for the store and Tavern, and Charles Holder received written authority to arrest any further disturbers of the peace, and send them in as prisoners." Colonel Armstrong said that he did not consider the Moravians Tories.

The Brethren believed that General Gates was simply testing their loyalty when he told Major Hartman to order one thousand pairs of shoes from them. The major knew that the order could not be filled so he asked for a quantity of leather instead. The leather, which they sent to Hillsboro, quite satisfied General Gates, and he

. . . expressed his willingness to serve us in any way; and sent a Pass allowing Br. Bagge to get salt from Cross Creek. Br. Bibighaus had heard from a certain Major Penn that they had not really needed the leather, but that they had wanted to test our sentiment toward this State, for we had been described to Congress as Tories, and it was well for us that we had proved the contrary.<sup>33</sup>

Early in the year 1780 the Surry County officials showed their confidence in the Moravians by asking them to pay the county tax only once instead of threefold.<sup>34</sup>

There were a number of laws passed by the North Carolina assembly that affected the Brethren, and by examining these laws one sees the attitude of the State toward the Moravians. An act of 1777 concerning oaths declared that the affirmation of the Moravians would be accepted in civil controversies in the State just as it had been accepted under the royal government.

<sup>33</sup> *Moravian Records*, IV, MS., "Salem Diary," Oct. 3, 1780.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, MS., "Salem Diary," Feb. 15, 1780.



The Confiscation Act of 1777 provided for the confiscating of

. . . all property whose owners were outside the country on July 4, 1776, and had not yet returned, . . . or who were living outside the State, unless they should appear before the Assembly at its session beginning Oct. 1, 1778 and there regain title to their land.<sup>35</sup>

Another act, passed by the same assembly

established an Office in each County, in which each man might enter his own or any still vacant land, paying 6d per acre and the fees, whereupon the State, the land having been surveyed and properly attested, would issue a Grant. But it was provided that no land might be taken up in this way to which a Grant had been given by the King or Lord Granville.<sup>36</sup>

At times it seemed as if the Moravians would not have the choice of keeping their homes in Wachovia. James Hutton, an Englishman, had held the deed to Wachovia for the Unitas Fratrum, and therefore, many people thought the Brethren would lose their lands. While Frederic William Marshall was in Europe in 1778, Hutton transferred the title to Wachovia to him, but this deed was challenged until 1782. Very few of the Brethren would take the state oath or affirmation of objuraton and persons who refused lost all legal rights. Since they would not take the oath or affirmation, they could not enter their lands in the Land Office, and other people entered their lands, believing that the Moravians would have no hearing in the courts.

In the summer of 1778 the Brethren decided to send a petition to the assembly. It was taken to Hillsboro by Bagge and Blum. The Brethren told of their missionary enterprise in various parts of the world, and therefore begged that the phrase, "I renounce all fidelity to the present King of Great Britain, etc.," might be omitted from their affirmation. It was this phrase that had kept the Brethren from taking the affirmation. At this time, they also asked to be permitted to pay a tax instead of a fine for non-attendance on military duty.<sup>37</sup> Nothing was gained by the petition save getting the time

<sup>35</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1204.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1204.

<sup>37</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1207.



for taking the oath extended until the January session of the assembly.

The Brethren in Wachovia present a sad picture in the year 1778. It will be remembered that they left their Georgia homes, for which they had worked five years, rather than be forced into military service. In 1778 some of them suggested that they leave Wachovia, the land they had come to love, their homes and business which had been their pride. In December, 1778, they decided to send a second petition to the assembly, and Bishop Graff pathetically wrote in a letter under date of December 17:

. . . If the Assembly insists that we renounce allegiance to the King then we see nothing else to do except to leave it to the judgement of our Brethren and give them freedom to act as their hearts direct, for I scarcely think that our Brethren will be willing to give up everything on this account and bring ruin upon their families, especially as no other abiding place can be expected now.<sup>38</sup>

Early in January, 1779, the Brethren, Brezel and Heckewalder, took the second petition to the assembly. The act of the Pennsylvania Assembly concerning Moravians was not known in North Carolina, therefore, the decision in regard to the petition rested solely with the North Carolina assembly, and the Brethren were deeply grateful for the consideration shown them. The new affirmation of allegiance was entirely satisfactory to them. The clause, "I do renounce any Fidelity to the present King of Great Britain, His heirs and Successors" was omitted, though such a renunciation was implied. The Brethren were to retain all of their lands; and they were exempted from military service provided they would pay a triple tax.<sup>39</sup> Failure to return inventory made a person liable to a four-fold tax. The Brethren promptly took the new affirmation of allegiance, only one person holding back on account of scruples.

Certain men, who disliked the Brethren, tried to get the assembly to withdraw the privileges that had been granted to them, but the laws remained as they were; and, furthermore, the assembly definitely stated in the year 1782 that a person who failed to make a

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 1254.

<sup>39</sup> *Moravian Records*, III, 1285.



return of his taxable property was subject to a fourfold tax and not to the sevenfold tax that had been collected by some of the officials.<sup>40</sup>

The title to Wachovia had gravely concerned the Brethren, and they were truly thankful when the assembly in April, 1782, declared the deed of transfer from James Hutton to Frederic William Marshall, dated October 27 and 28, 1778, valid in law. This act, therefore, made the Moravian lands not subject to confiscation, the State publicly recognizing the Brethren as loyal citizens. Finally in the year 1783 the Brethren, by act of the North Carolina legislature, were relieved of the threefold tax. Never again were they to have to pay "an extraordinary tax on account of religion."<sup>41</sup>

Many distinguished visitors came to Salem during the year 1782,—among them were Governor Rutledge and Representative Gervais, South Carolina delegates to the Continental Congress. They were pleased with Wachovia, and said "it would not be just if our [their] rights were curtailed in any way."<sup>42</sup>

Throughout the entire period of the Revolution, the Brethren were consistent in their stand in regard to military affairs. They came to America to live quiet and useful lives according to their simple faith. The English Parliament granted them exemption from oaths and personal military service which were contrary to their belief. Many of those who joined the Unity shortly before the Revolution, did not have conscientious scruples against oaths and military service, and, therefore, took the state oath and served in the army, but the older Brethren would do neither. They also held that it would not be right to pay substitutes to fight in their places and petitioned the state assembly to permit them to share in a financial way the burden of the war but to be relieved of the fine for military exemption. The Brethren were misunderstood by radical Whigs and, at the beginning of the war, officials questioned their stand in regard to military and political affairs, but those who learned to know them came to respect them, and to appreciate their honest convictions. After the members of the assembly were convinced of their sincerity, they passed laws that were entirely satisfactory to the Brethren; and the Brethren in return fed the soldiers, cared for the wounded,

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<sup>40</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 434.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 492.

<sup>42</sup> *Moravian Records*, IV, MS., "Salem Diary," April 4, 1782.



and paid the triple taxes. They became known as faithful citizens whose money and provisions were just as necessary during the War of Independence as were soldiers for the battlefield.

The Brethren had prayed that war would not come, and after war came, they continually prayed for peace. Consequently their pastor in the *Memorabilia* for 1783 joyfully recorded "the gift of honorable peace, for which [they had] sighed during eight years of stress and alarm of war." The final treaty of peace was signed in Paris on September 3, 1783, and the Congress of the United States appointed the second Thursday in December as a day of thanksgiving. North Carolina anticipated this national celebration of peace. News of the preliminary peace arrangements came to Governor Alexander Martin in April and, on June 18, he issued a proclamation which appointed "Friday the fourth of July next being the anniversary of the declaration of American Independence, as a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God."<sup>43</sup> So far as is known the Moravians were the only ones who carried out the governor's instructions. For eight long years the Brethren had prayed for peace; surely July 4, 1783, was a sacred day to them, and the Bethabara diarist said the Brethren were in favor of making the celebration as elaborate as their circumstances allowed. The day was observed by all the Moravian congregations, not by the firing of guns, but by songs and prayers of thanksgiving to the Almighty God who had safely cared for them and had finally given them a blessed peace. Any one who has attended a Moravian celebration can almost hear the choirs as they sang on July 4, 1783:

First Choir, —"Peace is with us! Peace is with us!

People of the Lord.

Second Choir,—Peace is with us! Peace is with us!

Hear the joyful word!

All, —Let it sound from shore to shore!

Let it echo evermore!

Men, —Peace is with us!

Women, —Peace is with us!

All, —Peace, the gift of God!"<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Fries, A. L., "An Early Fourth of July Celebration," *The Journal of American History*, Third Quarter, No. 3, 1915, IX, 470 *et seq.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 473.



## THOMAS BURKE IN THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

By JENNINGS B. SANDERS

Thomas Burke was born in Ireland in 1747 and came to America seventeen years later. Educated as a physician, he practiced his profession for a time in Virginia, then turned to law, and, on the eve of the Revolution, took up his residence in North Carolina. There he shortly became prominent politically, joining with Harnett, Hewes, Hill, Hooper, Caswell, and others, in support of the movement against the mother country.<sup>1</sup> The instructions for the delegates from his own county (Orange) to the Halifax Congress, 1776, were in his handwriting and provided for a limited government, separation of powers, and "a free and unrestrained exercise of religion. . . ."<sup>2</sup> These were to be guiding principles with him until his death.

Late in 1776, Burke was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress and in February of the year following, took his place in that body.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the early delegates from North Carolina, he was from the central not the eastern part of the State.<sup>4</sup> The Revolution was to a certain extent a "youth movement," and few of its leaders were more vigorous in their arguments or more steadfast in their purposes than the young Irishman from the South. No sooner had he arrived in Congress than committee appointments came to him, and they continued to come during his entire Congressional career,—the Medical Committee, the Marine Committee, the committee on Indian affairs, the standing committee for hearing appeals,<sup>5</sup> a place on the Treasury Board, membership on the committee to report a plan for revising the executive departments,<sup>6</sup> and a great many minor and special appointments. Much of the work of Congress was performed by the various committees and administra-

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<sup>1</sup> Burke died in 1783 while still a young man. A county in North Carolina was named for him. As to physical appearance, it is said that he had but one good eye and that his face was somewhat disfigured by smallpox scars. For sketches of and notes on his life, see *The South in the Building of the Nation*, XI, 142-43; Samuel A. Ashe (ed.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 27-32, and his *History of North Carolina*, I, 560, 564, 573, 575, 589, 603 ff.; James Haltigan, *The Irish in the American Revolution*, 275-76.

<sup>2</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 870f-870h.

<sup>3</sup> W. C. Ford (ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VII, 85. The credentials were dated Dec. 20, 1776. William Hooper and Joseph Hewes were also appointed delegates.

<sup>4</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, xxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VII, 87, 92, 172.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 221; XIX, 31.



tive boards, and an aggressive delegate might make his influence felt in these groups, especially in the more important ones dealing with Marine, War, and Treasury affairs.<sup>7</sup> But while much of what was said in committee debates is unrecorded, there is preserved, fortunately, the substance of many of the forensic encounters in which Burke participated on the floor of Congress. His letters and abstracts of debates reveal a delegate alert and attentive to the interests of his State, a man of much capacity for practical politics and heated, though able, argumentation. In the following paragraphs is set forth the attitude he assumed toward the leading issues and public questions debated in Congress during the period of his service.

In the Battle of the Brandywine, September, 1777, Burke served as a volunteer officer, and a little later, charged that the American defeat was due to the "Folly and misconduct" of General Sullivan. "This unfortunate General has ever been the Marplot of our Army, and his miscarriages are I am persuaded owing to a total want of military Genius, and to one of that sort of understandings which is unable to take a full comprehensive view of an object, but employs its activity in subtle senseless refinements." Charges were brought against Sullivan in Congress and although cleared by that body, the feud between Burke and the offended general continued. It appeared for a time that the affair was to be settled by the *duello*, but eventually a reconciliation was effected without resorting to that expedient.<sup>8</sup>

Burke was omitted from the North Carolina delegation in April, 1778, and it has been conjectured that this was because of his failure to secure the election of a North Carolinian to succeed Brigadier General Moore who had recently died. A protest signed by six field officers of the North Carolina brigade was presented to the state government, saying that they were informed "a certain Doctor Hand resident in Pennsylvania is appointed a Brigadier General for the troops of North Carolina, in the room of General Moore. . . ." They said that Hand was not known in North Carolina and that they

<sup>7</sup> J. B. Sanders, "The Development of the Executive Departments of the Continental Congress, 1774-89," manuscript thesis in Harper Memorial Library, University of Chicago.

<sup>8</sup> Burke to Caswell, Sept. 17, 1777, *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 620-23; 625-26; Burke to General Sullivan, Sept. 28, 1780, *ibid.*, XV, 86-89; Thomas C. Amory, *The Military Services and Public Life of Major-General John Sullivan*. . . . 41ff., 191.



resented this "partiality for a Countryman" in preference to state officers.<sup>9</sup> It has been assumed that Burke's outburst in Congress in defense of state rights, described at a later point in this study, may have been in an effort to regain the confidence of the North Carolina Assembly undermined by the above episode. The observation should be made, however, that Burke had defended the rights of his State in Congress even before these developments took place, and that it is possible to overdo the matter of seeing cause and effect in them.

Along with several others, Burke was suspicious of the East and the North, and opposed paying six per cent on loans to carry on the war, hinting that the large cities with their accumulations would profit most from such a policy. He was not sure that there was a combination of eastern states, but thought that New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, should be watched,—that states having no western lands would endeavor to get territorial questions into the hands of a mere majority in Congress to the ultimate detriment of states having western claims. "To be more explicit, I believe they will endeavour by degrees to make the authority of Congress very extensive, and when it shall be fully established and acknowledged, to make such a party in it as will pass resolves injurious to the rights of those states who claim to the South Seas. . . ." <sup>10</sup> The New Hampshire Grants affair involving much disputed territory was submitted to Congress, but Burke took the position that that body should have nothing to do with it. "I am for my own part clearly against assuming a judiciary power, such certainly never was the purpose of our Delegation." <sup>11</sup> Later, however, he introduced a motion in Congress which might seem to denote a modification of his view. He was of opinion that "the lands contained within the limits of the United States are, and of right ought to be under the jurisdiction of some one or other of the thirteen United States, and of no other power, and are and of right ought to be under the federal protection of the United States"; also that the United States are "bound to employ the common forces and common powers in support

<sup>9</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 389-90, 469, 750; XII, v; Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I, 589.

<sup>10</sup> Burke to Caswell, Feb. 10, 1777, *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 377; *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VII, 106n; XIII, 141-42; E. C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, II, 257-58.

<sup>11</sup> Burke to Caswell, April 29, 1777, *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 460.



of the jurisdiction of any of the said states, whenever the same shall be invaded or infringed." <sup>12</sup>

In February, 1781, Congress considered the draft of a letter to John Jay, who was endeavoring to negotiate a treaty with Spain. He was told not to insist upon the free navigation of the Mississippi and a free port below the thirty-first degree of north latitude, though he must hold out for free navigation above that line and get the concession below it if possible. The latter, however, was not to be an ultimatum. When the instructions were put to a vote, Burke voted against them, and was supported in his opposition by his colleague, Johnston, though not by Sharpe. Nevertheless, the instructions were approved.<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that Burke was an attorney for the Transylvania Company,<sup>14</sup> though whether this fact had anything to do in shaping his views regarding a western territorial policy in Congress, is difficult to determine.

In the discussions on foreign affairs, bitter and prolonged, Burke took some part and was a member of the committee appointed to consider our connections abroad. Due to continued charges of irregularities, there was much agitation in Congress for the recall of the American overseas representatives, and Burke believed that both Franklin and Arthur Lee should be ordered home, for, said he, they had been accused and should be given a hearing. He appears to have had much confidence in Franklin, though not in Lee.<sup>15</sup>

Another proposal which occasioned much debate in Congress was that half-pay for life should be provided for officers of the American army by Congress. Though the plan was warmly advocated by Washington as being dictated by military necessity, it was not viewed with much favor by several members of Congress. Some argued that Congress was instituted originally for war purposes and that arrangements for a peace establishment exceeded their powers, and although at first this seems to have been the attitude of Burke, he later relented.<sup>16</sup> He was willing to have Congress recommend to

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<sup>12</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVII, 452.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 152-54. For an earlier attitude, see *ibid.*, XIII, 369-71.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Henderson (?) to Judge John Williams, Oct 29, 1778, *State Records of North Carolina*, XIII, 490.

<sup>15</sup> Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, IV, 37, 82, 168-70, 370-73. Burke voted Jan. 16, 1779, to discharge Thomas Paine from the office of secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIII, 77.

<sup>16</sup> Burnett, *op. cit.*, III, xi-xii, 161-63; *Journals of the Continental Congress*, X, 358-59, 362-63ff., 395-96; XVI, 11.



the states that they make provision for the widows and orphans of their soldiers, but was opposed to a recommendation that they provide half-pay for life for their officers and "proper rewards" for their soldiers who enlisted for the duration of the war.<sup>17</sup> Apparently, the state troops were to be regarded as defenders of the "general cause," and were, therefore, to be provided for by the Continental Congress.

In addition to the demand for adequate rewards for their services, there was much complaint on the part of the army at the lack of food and other necessities for their existence. Burke insisted that the scarcity, even at Valley Forge, was "Artificial" and that people were charging too much for the supplies they sold the public. In his letters to Caswell, he discussed the leading questions, economic and political, agitated in Congress, indicating that the money problem was most pressing of all,—a problem which could be solved only by taxation.<sup>18</sup> In this view he did not stand alone.

Although much alike in the possession of fiery tempers and in outspokenness, Burke and Henry Laurens, the distinguished delegate from South Carolina, seem not to have been on agreeable terms. On April 4, 1779, Laurens wrote a letter to Governor Caswell, of North Carolina, in which he made it plain that he did not feel Burke practiced what he preached with regard to personal freedom in Congress, and asserted further: "It is a settled plan, and has been for some time past, 'to hunt me down.' " <sup>19</sup> If the attitude of Whitmill Hill toward Laurens represented the opinion of Burke, relations must have been somewhat embittered. Hill, in a letter to Burke, had the following to say of the South Carolinian: "Is he not callous to any sense of shame? I think his character much more pitiable than any other in Congress, as for Adams and Lee, they have Designs and great objects in view, but our Southern Champion is duped by their flattery, an artillery which he cannot oppose." <sup>20</sup> The South Carolinians desired Congress to give special attention to the problem of their State's defense, but the North Carolina delegates appear not to have sympathized with their situation sufficiently to support

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<sup>17</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIV, 975-76.

<sup>18</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 550; XIII, 378-79, 385.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, 57-58.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.



them in their request. It appears, too, that friction was caused by Laurens' support of the ultimatum demanding freedom of the northern fisheries in any peace settlement, a measure regarded by some as a design to benefit New England.<sup>21</sup> Although both Burke and Laurens had cast their votes at an earlier date to secure American rights in the fisheries, by May, 1779, the former had changed his mind. A motion seconded by Burke was introduced as a substitute for the original demand and was to the effect that a treaty with Great Britain acknowledging "the absolute and unlimited liberty, sovereignty and independence of these United States," would be acceptable. The preamble stated that due to the "exhausted situation" of the states, "the derangement of their finances, and the defect of their resources," it was "highly expedient" to bring the war to a close. Laurens opposed the motion, while Burke, of course, voted for it.<sup>22</sup>

Burke's views as to the powers of the Continental Congress and the possibility of enlarging them under the Articles of Confederation, are of much interest. In a communication to the North Carolina General Assembly in 1777, he said he regarded Congress as "a General Council of America instituted for the purpose of opposing the usurpations of Britain, conducting the war against her, and forming foreign alliances as necessary thereto. Incident to this must be the general direction of the Army and Navy, because they are the instruments of the war." While it was necessary, he thought, that treaties with foreign powers should be binding on the states, he was anxious not to give Congress power to arrest and punish citizens. The military was to be checked by the civil power, and Congress was not to continue in session after the war.<sup>23</sup> The contest between proponents of rival ideas of government, one for enlarging, the other for limiting, the powers of Congress, is unmistakable in Burke's letters and abstracts of debates. He insisted that sovereignty belonged to the states and that only the parts expressly delegated could be exercised in conjunction with other states. All undelegated powers were of course reserved to the local governments.<sup>24</sup> As to

<sup>21</sup> Middleton to Burke, Oct. 18, 1779, *State Records of North Carolina*, XIV, 214-15; XI, xx; Burnett, *op. cit.*, IV, 132, 140-41, 145-48.

<sup>22</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIII, 348-52; XIV, 563-66.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 328-29; *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 701-03.

<sup>24</sup> Burke seemed to think, at one time at least, that the champions of enlarged powers for Congress were acting from ignorance rather than from design. See Burke to Caswell, March 11, 1777, *ibid.*, April 29, May 2, 1777, Burnett, *op. cit.*, II, 294-96, 346, 353-54.



the character and quality of Congress, he wrote to Caswell, August 21, 1777: "I wish, Sir, I could tell you the Congress improve in wisdom and Virtue: but as I hope soon to see you, I shall reserve what I have to say of them."<sup>25</sup>

Quite naturally he viewed the Articles of Confederation as an effort to go beyond the design of the existing Congress and as a form of government fraught with danger to the states. Harnett, writing to Burke of the birth of the "child," Confederation, remarked, "I fear it will by several Legislatures be thought a little deformed,—you will think it a Monster."<sup>26</sup> In point of fact, Burke regarded the new instrument of government as a "Chimerical Project," and insisted that the states were already sufficiently united. He observed that by the Articles nine state votes were necessary to secure the passage of important measures, and that this would give a negative to five or even less than five if the states were not adequately represented, as was frequently the case. Burke felt that so weighty a matter as a new form of government should be considered in time of peace and argued that advantage was being taken by its champions by pushing it in time of war when the states would naturally feel the necessity of union.<sup>27</sup> He figured largely in the debates in Congress on the Articles and sent reports to his State as to what was happening at the seat of the general government. North Carolina's slight delay in ratifying the new instrument may have been due in part to Burke's dislike of it.<sup>28</sup>

As has been suggested above, there were two schools of political thought in the Continental Congress, one standing for the creation of a strong national government on a permanent basis to replace the rejected control of Britain; the other, maintaining that the central government should be regarded as a temporary one and that its powers should be strictly limited to those delegated by the states. Congress had scarcely convened before the conflict of factions began, and the struggle did not end until the champions of centralization had succeeded in establishing a form of government probably never

<sup>25</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 593-94.

<sup>26</sup> Nov. 13, 1777, *ibid.*, XI, 677.

<sup>27</sup> Harnett to Caswell, March 20, 1778, *State Records of North Carolina*, XIII, 336; Burnett, *op. cit.*, II, 542, 552-58; III, 138; IV, 501. Harnett did not concur in this view of the Confederation.

<sup>28</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XII, v.



contemplated by those warmest for separation in 1776. The rival ideas of government brilliantly expounded by Hamilton and Jefferson had been in process of gradual formation several years before these statesmen became great national figures. To that process Thomas Burke made significant contributions, and his name must ever be associated with the verbal battle that was fought in Congress between those who were jealous of the newly won rights of the states, and those anxious to set up a central governmental institution not dependent upon the states for the means of its operation.

Less than a month after his arrival in Congress, Burke had occasion to show his devotion to the principle of state rights. When the question of adjourning to Philadelphia arose, he moved to postpone, which was his right; whereupon, a "Fierce debate ensued" on the matter, some members wanting the rule permitting one state to postpone to be set aside. The North Carolina delegate argued logically that if a majority could set aside rules adopted by common consent, then a majority might make four or five states a Congress and voting by voice, not by states, the proper procedure. He was opposed to stopping business to adjourn, maintaining with humor, so it now seems, that if all the members of Congress were "killed or Captivated" others as good or better could be found for their places and public business would not suffer. Several members supported him in his main contention and he won the point at issue.<sup>29</sup>

It was also during his first weeks in Congress that the question arose of having that body empower certain individuals in the states to arrest deserters from the army, without local intervention. Burke insisted with considerable show of reason that if Congress could exercise this power, they might endanger the liberties of Americans everywhere. A debate took place between the North Carolinian and James Wilson, of Pennsylvania—a case of Irish *versus* Scotch—the latter arguing that the levying and disciplining of the army were Continental matters and that the power of apprehending deserters must, therefore, reside in Congress. But Burke could not agree that "Continental Councils" were to be enforced by "Continental authority." Such, he thought, would be to give "Congress a Power to prostrate all the Laws and Constitutions of the states because they

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<sup>29</sup> Burke, *Abstract of Debates*, Feb. 26, 27, 1777, Burnett, *op. cit.*, II, 282-85.



might create a Power within each that must act entirely Independant of them, and might . . . render Ineffectual all the Barriers Provided in the states for the Security of the Rights of the Citizens. . . ." He observed that "the states alone had Power to act coercively against their Citizens," and warned that men struggling "against Oppression" would not admit it on the part of Congress. The North Carolina Bill of Rights, he asserted, would be worthless. Burke said that "Necessity" must not be taken as an excuse for the exercise of improper power, and pointed out that five persons (if five states had only one representative each) might control American liberties.<sup>30</sup>

Likewise when Congress determined to call in certain emissions of Continental paper currency because they were too much counterfeited, Burke complained that such action would be equivalent to repealing the laws of states making this currency a legal tender.<sup>31</sup> And one of his objections to the Confederation's power to emit paper and borrow money was that it would be used for the benefit of favored states and individuals who, with money secured from the sale of provisions, could buy cheap paper and then redeem it at ten times its value.<sup>32</sup> Burke was a sound money man and when Thomas McKean, of Delaware, moved that it be recommended to the legislatures to revise their laws "making the continental bills of credit a tender in payment of debts and contracts, and frame them so as to prevent injustice to creditors or debtors," he was seconded by the North Carolinian. Eventually a recommendation embodying the guarantees of the original motion was adopted.<sup>33</sup>

Nor could he approve the plan of allowing the commissary general of purchases to take as his commission one-half of one per cent of the moneys expended for his department, the deputies a like sum, and the purchasing commissaries two per cent, though it was determined affirmatively in Congress. Moreover, he would not give his vote to absolve the commissary general and his deputies from blame for the misapplication of funds by subordinates.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1777, Burnett, II, 275-81.

<sup>31</sup> Burke to Caswell, Dec. 20, 1778, *State Records of North Carolina*, XIII, 328-29; Burnett, *op. cit.*, III, 542-43. See also *ibid.*, 547-48.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVI, 165; XIX, 266-67.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 327, 357; XIII, 397-401, 441-42; XVI, 7.



Many delegates in Congress considered their first duty to be to their constituents, and Burke was one of the leading exponents of this point of view. He wrote, for instance, that he was under an injunction of secrecy regarding proceedings in Congress "unless I perceive its tendency to be Injurious to my Constituents. . . . I consider the obligation I am under to my Constituents, superior to any which can be laid on me by Congress." <sup>35</sup>

Nothing, however, reveals more clearly the North Carolinian's conception of state rights and his own duties in Congress, than an episode which occurred in that body in the spring of 1778. A draft of a letter in reply to a recent communication from Washington <sup>36</sup> was being considered, and, according to Burke, a whole afternoon had been consumed on one paragraph. With just enough delegates present to do business, a motion was made at ten o'clock in the evening to adjourn. The question was put and Burke, after voting affirmatively, withdrew and "declared the states might vote as they pleased, he would upon his honor adjourn himself; and thereupon . . . immediately withdrew, by which means Congress could not proceed to business," for Harnett, Burke's colleague, was confined to his rooming place. Edward Langworthy, of Georgia, had also withdrawn, and a messenger was dispatched to request the return of both members. They roomed at the same place and were together when the messenger arrived. Langworthy consented to return, professing that, owing to a bad cold and consequent defective hearing, he had thought Congress adjourned when he retired. But Burke was said to have replied to the messenger, "Devil take him if he would come, it was too late and too unreasonable." <sup>37</sup>

The matter caused considerable wrangling in Congress, some members insisting that if members were permitted to withdraw at will,

<sup>35</sup> Burnett, *op. cit.*, IV, 369. See also *ibid.*, 309, 319, 324n. The North Carolina Legislature required reports of their delegates to the Continental Congress, but did not ask that they violate the injunction of secrecy in the matter. *State Records of North Carolina*, XIII, 922.

<sup>36</sup> Congress passed resolutions which, in effect, seemed to dictate the terms Washington was to observe in negotiating a cartel with the British. For several reasons, the General regarded the stipulations as improper as they were offensive to himself personally, and frankly said so in a letter to the President of Congress, April 4, 1778. The letter which occasioned the debate in Congress and led to the episode related in this paper, was in reply to Washington's communication. See the *Writings of Washington* (Sparks, ed.), V. 306-310, 306-07n; *Journals of the Continental Congress*, X, 294-95, 330-31ff.

<sup>37</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, X, 334. For a slightly different version, see *ibid.*, 386-87. It appears that the members of the committee drafting the letter were anxious to have the reply completed before adjournment, and that Duer, one of the members, was the leader of one side in the debate, while Reed of Pennsylvania, Drayton, of South Carolina, and Burke, were on the opposing side. Friends of Washington were anxious not to offend the General, and it was necessary, therefore, that a reply be made only after some deliberation. Burke seemed to regard Duer's opposition as personally offensive.



the existence of the House would be endangered. Langworthy and Burke protested they did not know the summons to attend had come from the President, Burke saying that he thought it came from Duer, his opponent in debate during the day. He replied to the charges, greatly offending Congress by his language, and demanded that his defense be recorded in the *Journals*. This was denied. A motion regarding his conduct was referred to a committee consisting of Drayton, Chase, and Dana, and their report having been made, Congress took the following stand on the matter:

That the manner in which Mr. [Thomas] Burke withdrew, on the evening of the said tenth instant, was disorderly and contemptuous; and that the answer then returned by him was indecent. That the principle upon which he has attempted to justify his withdrawing from the house is dangerous, because it strikes at the very existence of the house, and, as in the present case actually happened, would enable a single member to put an instant stop to the most important proceedings of Congress. That his charge against the member from New York and others, of a combination against him, not having been even attempted by him to be supported by evidence; therefore, appears to be affrontive and groundless.

A copy of the minutes was ordered to be transmitted to the North Carolina Assembly.<sup>38</sup>

Burke wrote quite fully to Caswell about the affair, and while agreeing that members of Congress were bound to attend when so required by the President, maintained that punishments beyond censure belonged to the states. He explained that he had a fever on the day of the withdrawal, increased by his participation in debate and "the noise of loud, incessant Declamation," and that he withdrew because he feared the motion to adjourn would not pass. He felt that "the power of judging and punishing Delegates was never Committed to Congress" by his State, and "held it an unworthy business for a republican and a representative of a free and sovereign People to be looking out for courtly Expressions." Furthermore, to keep a member at unreasonable hours was "Tyrannical." He asserted, too, that it was not unusual for members of Congress to absent themselves.<sup>39</sup> Where the hours of adjournment were not

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 390-91. For earlier points in the controversy, see *ibid.*, 334, 336-37, 339-41, 385-89.

<sup>39</sup> Burnett, *op. cit.*, III, 187-89, 193-95, 203-06, 200-01; *State Records of North Carolina*, XIII, 403-07.



fixed, he contended, it was the right of every freeman to make up his mind when the proper time to depart had come.<sup>40</sup> It is of the greatest interest to observe the similarity of the arguments advanced by Burke against the Continental Congress and those directed by the Revolutionists against Britain: in the case of the latter, the rights of citizens as such and the rights of the Colonies as corporate units, were stressed; and in the case of the former, the rights of citizens and states were championed.<sup>41</sup>

The dispute was taken under consideration by the North Carolina General Assembly, and on August 14, 1778, a joint committee having investigated the affair, made their report. As to the charge against Burke, they observed "with extreme concern that it originated from a circumstance so trivial in itself that nothing but the consideration, which Congress, during a debate of near fifteen days, bestowed upon it, could have swelled it into the importance which at present it assumes." The committee took the view that the remarks of Burke regarded by Congress as offensive, were not directed at Congress as a body but only at certain individuals or an individual member. The issue in the dispute was clearly grasped: was Congress to control its members or were they to be solely responsible to the states sending them? The report declared that the powers "assumed" by Congress in the case of Burke could not be acquiesced in by North Carolina "without relaxing their own Independence and giving up the exclusive control which they have over their Representatives in Congress." The report added that the State had "a right and will be ever ready when the occasion requires it, to control, censure, punish and remove their members," but that "should Congress arrogate to itself these, or any part of these powers, there is no line described when and to what extent this authority might be exercised." Such power might be stretched to defeat the State's "Independence," to "an invasion of its internal policy and to the total destruction of its due weight in the Councils of the United States."<sup>42</sup>

In the end, the redoubtable delegate was victorious, for North Carolina re-appointed him to Congress<sup>43</sup> and it is probable that all

<sup>40</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XIII, 87-89.

<sup>41</sup> Burke to Caswell, April 25, 1778, *ibid.*, XIII, 102-04.

<sup>42</sup> For the report, see *State Records of North Carolina*, XII, 843-45, and for the history of it, see *ibid.*, 769, 792, 825.

<sup>43</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI, 856; Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I, 589.



along he well understood "how the land lay" in his home State. Harnett wrote to Burke, September 19, 1778: "They could not have given you a more convincing proof of their approbation of your Conduct in Congress, than by appointing you again in the very face of their ridiculous resolves, to represent them in that Body."<sup>44</sup> Hill, Penn, Harnett, and John Williams, were elected delegates along with Burke, it being understood that not more than three were to serve at the same time and that any two might act for the whole delegation. Their commission gave them power "to bind the Inhabitants of this State in all Cases, not inconsistent with the Constitution thereof and its Rights and Privileges as an Independent Sovereign People, and the Instructions which they shall receive from this State."<sup>45</sup> The Continental Congress was not especially popular in North Carolina, due to alleged negligence of her defense,<sup>46</sup> and Burke's activities as a delegate, though natural and apparently possessing sincerity, were doubtless shaped to a considerable extent by the attitude of his constituents. His vindication through re-appointment to Congress, plus his election as governor in 1781,<sup>47</sup> seem to fortify such a conclusion.

The delegates to the Continental Congress were in no position to permit national considerations to outweigh the interests of their states: they must ever be on the *qui vive* lest their State receive a smaller share of the public funds for defense purposes than neighboring states; they must think of the welfare of their state troops as units of the general army, rather than of the army as a whole; and they must prevent the adoption of policies of a general character deemed to be detrimental to their own localities.<sup>48</sup> On such points the conduct of state delegations was essentially alike, and, in the

<sup>44</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XIII, 483. See also *ibid.*, vii.

<sup>45</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XI, 856. The commission of Dec. 20, 1776, had given the delegates more extensive powers. They were "invested with such Powers as may make any Act done by them, or any of them, or consent given, in the said Congress, in behalf of this State, obligatory upon every inhabitant thereof." *State Records of North Carolina*, X, 977-78.

<sup>46</sup> Hill to Burke, May ?, 1779, Burnett, *op. cit.*, IV, 241-42.

<sup>47</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XVII, 809, 813-14.

<sup>48</sup> For example, Whitmill Hill wrote to Burke saying that North Carolina desired money from the Continental Treasury; that Congress had appropriated sums for Pennsylvania and South Carolina, and if North Carolina was not to be protected, it should be made known so "that we may know what ground we are on. . . ." Burnett, *op. cit.*, IV, 241-42. Delegates seem to have spent much time at the Treasury Board trying to get funds for their states. Also Burke wrote to Caswell, March 18, 1779, that North Carolinians were constantly applying to know what provisions had been made for them by the Assembly. *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 514; XIV, 44-45.



nature of things, it scarcely could have been otherwise. Even in the modern Congress such views are not at all unusual.

In general, it may be said that Burke voted with the South as a section only when it appeared that the sectional interests and the interests of North Carolina were identical. For example, he voted in favor of having each state pay into the continental treasury according to the value of lands, buildings, and improvements. New England voted solidly against the plan, while the South, having considerable wealth in slaves, voted for it.<sup>49</sup> But when Congress resolved that it be recommended to the executive authorities of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, to permit certain New England states to purchase and export flour and grain in the South, Burke endeavored, though unsuccessfully, to have North Carolina excepted.<sup>50</sup> In the summer of 1780, Congress was considering the report of a committee on the defense of the Southern States to the effect "That no supplies of men nor of provisions except bacon be removed" northward of Virginia "until the farther order of Congress," when a motion was made to postpone; the motion passed, though Burke joined with others of the southern delegations in opposition to it.<sup>51</sup> A little earlier, he had moved that the expense of maintaining militia used for the general defense "be averaged and divided among the United States, in like manner as other expenses of the war," though at the time the states were found to be equally divided.<sup>52</sup> Quite obviously, the plan would have greatly benefited the less wealthy states. And while he was opposed to paying six per cent on money borrowed to carry on the war or on debts contracted for necessities for the army, he was not averse to having Congress pay a like per cent to North Carolinians who had supplied the southern army.<sup>53</sup>

Service in the Continental Congress required genuine sacrifices on the part of more than one delegate; travel was slow and uncomfortable,<sup>54</sup> the cost of living at Philadelphia and elsewhere where Congress sat, was high, and the salaries allowed the delegates by

<sup>49</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, IX, 801-02.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 257-58.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 513-14. See also *ibid.*, XIII, 99-100.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 151-52.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 141-42, 308-09; XVI, 363; XVII, 785-86.

<sup>54</sup> See Burke to Caswell, Nov. 1, 1777, *State Records of North Carolina*, XI 668; *ibid.*, March 12, 1778, *ibid.*, XIII, 378. It took about three weeks for the North Carolina delegates to go to Philadelphia.



their states were often inadequate.<sup>55</sup> Added to this was the neglect of families and private affairs during the period of their service.<sup>56</sup> Harnett wrote to Burke in December, 1777, that in Philadelphia he would "hardly be able to get a bed to sleep in," and that although his expenses for a little more than two months were upwards of two hundred dollars, he had "never lived in so wretched a manner" in his life.<sup>57</sup> Burke himself found Philadelphia "a scene of gaiety and Dissipation, public Assemblies every fortnight and private Balls every night." "In all such business," he wrote, "we propose that Mr. Penn shall represent the whole State."<sup>58</sup> Harnett assured Burke that the latter had already suffered more in his "private Concerns than any man who has been in the Delegation for some time past." But if not rewarded in this world, he will "be singing Hallelujas in the next to all Eternity," though the correspondent thought Burke's voice was "not very well Calculated for that business. . . ." <sup>59</sup> It is the occasional "human" letter such as the above and the one that follows which gives us some notion as to the kind of men that sat in the Continental Congress. Dr. James Fallon, of the hospital service, wrote a letter from Fishkill to Burke, April 1, 1779, in which he said that the "manners" of "Yorkers" were "abhorrent" and that they were "for the most part, a damned generation." "As a member of Congress," he adds, "I must solicit your forgiveness for swearing. I dare not write thus to any New Light delegate. But you are a philosopher, and therefore more merciful than religious." <sup>60</sup>

Burke did not belong to the Adams-Lee faction in Congress, nor was he consistently with their opponents; he was an independent, though he appears to have gone gradually in the direction of the Morris-Livingston group. He was in favor of having the states vest

<sup>55</sup> When Burke was first appointed, the salary of delegates was \$2,000 a year, but later it was raised somewhat. In December, 1777, Harnett wrote that he would have to draw from the treasury at least \$1,000 over and above the state allowance. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 977-78; *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 697; XIV, 3-4. In Congress, warrants would issue on the treasury in favor of delegates, their states to be accountable. Jan. 18, 1780, Burke received a warrant for \$10,000; Feb. 9, \$10,000; May 16, \$15,000; June 13, \$15,000; and March 23, 1781, \$20,000. Also, he applied to the North Carolina Board of Trade for funds. Of course, the purchasing power of these sums was greatly reduced by depreciation. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVI, 71, 143; XVII, 430, 508; XIX, 302; *State Records of North Carolina*, XIV, 435.

<sup>56</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XV, 180, 186, 613-17.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 697.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII, 328-29.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, 347-49; Burnett, *op. cit.*, IV, 479. Harnett by the latter part of 1777, was ready to surrender his place in Congress to any man who liked the honor. He felt that such service would prove ruinous to private affairs. *State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 678.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, 50.



a power in Congress to levy customs duties for paying the country's debts; he made a motion that Robert Morris in order to be superintendent of finance, be not required to sever the commercial connections previously made; and he was willing to permit that official to appoint and remove the subordinates provided for his department by Congress.<sup>61</sup>

Burke was granted a leave of absence by Congress on April 12, 1781,<sup>62</sup> and in June, was elected governor of North Carolina. The brief period of his life that follows, does not lie within the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that in Congress he had proved himself to be an able delegate, and that although he had enemies there, he was respected. At the beginning of his Congressional career, he thought he discerned a movement looking toward the creation of a system of government wherein the states were likely to suffer a diminution of their power, and although hostile toward it at first, he appears later to have been attracted by it somewhat. His untimely death in 1783 at the age of thirty-six, cut short a career already rendered remarkable by extensive and able public service.

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<sup>61</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XIX, 105-06, 110-11, 287-91, 337-38.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 376. From 1777 to 1781, there were some interruptions in Burke's service in Congress. He served in the state Assembly for a time, and was omitted from the delegation for a few months in 1778. Since it was not necessary for the whole delegation to be present in Congress, it was possible for him to secure leaves of absence at different times.



## SONS OF LIBERTY AND STAMP MEN

BY PHILIP G. DAVIDSON

On August 8, 1765, it was made known that Andrew Oliver had been appointed stamp distributor for Massachusetts. On August 14 a motley gathering so intimidated him that he resigned. Thereafter for two months similar groups in other towns visited their stamp officers with the same intent; with the exception of the Georgia distributor all resigned in the face of such determined resentment.

This step, the first and most important in the opposition to the Stamp Act, was the work of those later to style themselves the Sons of Liberty, the characteristic organization of the Stamp Act controversy. The formation, organization, and activities<sup>1</sup> of these Liberty Boys form the subject of this paper.

It is perfectly true that in the first few months of the controversy this group was not formally organized; there was not even agreement on the name, and the term "Sons of Liberty" did not come into common use until November or December.<sup>2</sup> It is also perfectly true, however, that spontaneous as was the resentment against the act there was at work some directing agency. The crowds themselves belonged to no society; none was needed. The unity of sentiment and the intensity of feeling made at first leadership of only the cruder sort necessary to direct the overflowing energies of the people, aroused as much against the enforcement of the new revenue laws at a time of economic depression and widespread unemployment as against the Stamp Act.

It was the mob captain who first provided leadership. Usually recruited from the lower classes, frequently holding some minor official position in the town government, each leader had under him a compact group of men ready to assemble at his word. In Boston, where conditions were rapidly growing worse, Ebenezer Mackintosh, sealer of leather, had two or three hundred men at his beck and call, and could gather two or three thousand more on a moment's notice.<sup>3</sup> Isaac Sears, swaggering ruffian, and the terror of timid

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<sup>1</sup> We are concerned here rather with types of activities than with details familiar to students of the period.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., C. L. Becker, *History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776*, pp. 35, 43.

<sup>3</sup> G. P. Anderson, "A Note on Ebenezer Mackintosh," *Publications, Colonial Society Massachusetts*, XXVI, 348-366.



officialdom, together with Joseph Allicocke, the contractor of provisions, held the New York mob in the hollow of his hand. So powerful was "King" Sears that the governor, Sir Henry Moore, once called on him to aid in maintaining the peace of the city.<sup>4</sup> An "insolent foreigner" of Newport, Samuel Crandall, was admittedly the chief instigator of the riotous proceedings in Providence and Newport during the last week of August; a tavern keeper of Philadelphia, Isaac Howell, made life miserable for the distributor there; and farther south, William Johnson, an influential mechanic, first gathered the group so brilliantly captained by Christopher Gadsden.<sup>5</sup> Other cities had their mob leaders, but only these few have survived the test of time or the tricks fate plays with historical documents; others may have been more important—their names are gone.

It is perfectly evident that behind these mob captains there was some guiding force. Though all the facts concerning the power behind the crowd leaders in each city are not available, we know enough to outline the general situation. All the evidence points to the general conclusion that behind every mob leader there was a small group of men, keeping their identity secret, who had gotten together before the actual outbreak against the stamp distributors, made their plans for this step, and thereafter charted the course of popular opposition. The Boston group, styling themselves the "Loyal Nine," seems to have been one of the first to organize, laying their plans in the summer of 1765. The Nine were drawn, as was true in large measure of similar groups in other cities, from the middle and lower classes: two distillers, two braziers, a jeweller, a painter, a printer, and two merchants. Few in Boston knew of their work, the credit or blame for the popular disturbances being laid on the broad shoulders of Mackintosh.<sup>6</sup> In New York a similar group was

<sup>4</sup> G. D. Scull (ed.) *The Montresor Journals* (Collections of the New York Historical Society, 1881), pp. 340, 368. Hereafter cited as *Montresor Journals*.

<sup>5</sup> *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1765; *Rhode Island Records*, VI, 454 ff.; *John Dickinson Papers* (Hist. Soc. Pa.), index under Howell; E. McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776*, pp. 589 f. Johnson is said to have had private means.

<sup>6</sup> W. V. Wells, *Samuel Adams*, I, 63, says the group was formed either in the spring of 1765 or at the time of the August riots. The only direct evidence is in the *Massachusetts Gazette*, August 21, 1765, in which the writer states that on the afternoon of August 14 the people entered the home of Andrew Oliver and there formed their society by name the Union Club. This probably refers, however, to the general agreement of all present to stand together in defense of their liberties; the Loyal Nine had no doubt been meeting for some time. The Nine was made up of John Avery, Thomas Chase, John Smith, Stephen Cleverly, George Trott, Thomas Crafts, Benjamin Edes, Henry Bass, and Henry Welles. G. P. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 356; cf. the *Works of John Adams*, II, 178 f. Henry Bass wrote Samuel Savage after the second resignation of Oliver: "We do everything to keep this and the first affair Private; and are not a little pleas'd to hear that McIntosh has the Credit of the whole Affair." *Proceedings*, Massachusetts Historical Society, XLIV, 688 f.



formed about the same time—two or three merchants, a tavern keeper, a cabinet maker, and even a teacher.<sup>7</sup> There was less interest in Philadelphia, possibly because the heavy hand of economic depression rested lightly on the city, and as a result the stamp distributor, John Hughes, could hold out longer. But in spite of popular lethargy there was nevertheless a small group associated for the same purpose as those in New York and Boston. Charles Thomson, Scotch-Irish merchant, William Bradford, printer, and Robert Morris did their best to force the resignation of Hughes, and after finally accomplishing this did what they could to keep alive the flame.<sup>8</sup> Samuel Chase and William Paca, later referred to as two of the most important committeemen in the colonies, took charge of the work of the Liberty Boys in Annapolis and Baltimore.<sup>9</sup>

The formation of similar groups in other cities is more obscure. It is obvious that they must have existed and in some instances we can surmise the membership, but there is little to connect some of the familiar revolutionary figures with the Sons of Liberty. Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe, and Hugh Waddell surely led the Wilmington crowds; no less surely was Christopher Gadsden the directing genius behind William Johnson.<sup>10</sup> The redoubtable Colonel Israel Putnam, aided by Hugh Laddie, headed the New London and Pomfret Sons of Liberty; William Goddard and a group of Providence merchants had begun to make their plans as early as August, and Dr. Thomas Young was no doubt as efficient in Albany as he was later in Boston.<sup>11</sup> We know of the existence of the group in Georgia without knowing its membership, for about the end of October the spirit against the Stamp Act increased, "and those persons who falsely call themselves the Sons of Liberty began to have private cabals and meetings, and . . . many had signed an association to oppose and prevent the distribution of the Stamped papers, and the act from taking effect."<sup>12</sup> Of the groups in other cities we know little or nothing.

<sup>7</sup> *New York Journal*, May 3, 1770. Hugh Hughes taught an evening school. *New York Journal*, Apr. 30, 1767. Others of the group were Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Joseph Allcocke, Marinus Willett—the Paul Revere of New York—Thomas Robinson and William Wiley.

<sup>8</sup> A. M. Schlesinger, *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Carroll, *Unpublished Letters of Charles Carroll*, pp. 112 f.; *Lamb Papers* (N. Y. Hist. Soc.), p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 98; R. D. W. Connor, *Cornelius Harnett*, p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, Aug. 22, 1765; Joseph Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution in the South*, pp. 37-43; *Lamb Papers*, p. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Governor James Wright to Secretary Conway, cited in C. C. Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, 61.



It was with this loose organization that the first five months' work was done. The Liberty Boys as formed in the summer of 1765 comprised small groups of radicals working through mob leaders, whose duty it was to assemble the crowd and carry out plans previously made. There was no technical organization; none was needed.<sup>13</sup> Evidence of the guiding hands of secretly associated leaders may be found in the first attack on the stamp distributors.

It is not necessary here to recount the trials of these unfortunates; one need only point out the way in which the people were prepared for the actual work of intimidation. The Bostonian was greeted on the morning of August 14 with an effigy swinging from a centrally located tree. No one with goods to sell was allowed to pass until the effigy had gone through the motions of stamping the goods with the "mark of the Beast." At night the figure was cut down and carried in procession. When the crowd came in sight of the stamp office, signal was hardly needed for the attack.<sup>14</sup> In Connecticut, leaders in the more important towns planned popular demonstrations with the effigy of Ingersoll as the principal victim. Norwich burnt in the evening an effigy which had been hanging all day, and in New London a procession, making a prodigious racket with drums, music, and guns, followed the doomed figure to the place of execution, everyone shouting, "There hangs a Traitor, there's an Enemy to his Country!" A mock court in Lebanon for the trial of the stamp master denied all the rights of Englishmen to the prisoner, only his virtual representative being there to plead for him. The Windham Boys suspended him between heaven and earth as fit for neither, while in New Haven the effigy was placed on horseback and ridden through the town, followed by an enthusiastic crowd which pelted him with everything in sight. It is significant that the demonstrations in New London, Lebanon, and Windham occurred on the same day, August 26, and that the others came within a week or so of them.<sup>15</sup> It is no wonder then that as Ingersoll was riding

<sup>13</sup> The statement in Becker, *Political Parties in New York*, p. 49, "It is a curious fact that the Society whose *raison d'être* is said to have been the nullification of the stamp act was not formally organized until after the stamps had been safely lodged in the town house" is misleading because it disregards the earlier association of the radical leaders.

<sup>14</sup> *Boston Gazette, Supplement*, Aug. 19, 1765. The owner of the tree threatened to cut down the effigy but was warned for the safety of his windows to desist. A Cambridge man gave the trousers for the figure, and many people from neighboring towns were in Boston that day.

<sup>15</sup> This account may be followed in the *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 26, 1765, and the *Connecticut Gazette*, Aug. 30, Sept. 6, 13, 1765.



to Hartford on the twenty-third of September to seek the protection of the governor, he should discover three converging groups from Windham, Norwich, and New London. Connecticut had been thoroughly prepared to receive Jared Ingersoll and his stamps in the most approved American manner.

Almost the same procedure was carried out in Rhode Island. The day before the actual attack on the homes of Martin Howard, Thomas Moffat, and Augustus Johnson, a large number of people in Newport formed a procession with effigies of the three, each with a halter around his neck, from which each was suspended on the public gallows.<sup>16</sup> Next day the plundering began; we can only imagine what the people had been told during the demonstration. The threatening aspect of affairs in New York, together with what was reported there of affairs in Boston, so terrified James McEvers, the stamp officer, that he voluntarily resigned. Articles had already begun to appear in the papers as early as August 22, and had McEvers retained his office there is no reason to suppose that he would not have been treated as were the others.

A few additional illustrations will suffice to show that behind the popular gatherings there was some group which had preconcerted the plans. The stamp master for New Hampshire had not arrived in Portsmouth when his name was published, but all plans had been made to receive him on landing. A demonstration was held with the inevitable effigies of the distributor—George Meserve—the Devil (or Bute?), and Grenville; amid groans and hisses the whole was burnt. The imprecations changed to cheers, however, when Meserve voluntarily resigned as soon as he landed.<sup>17</sup> The stamp officers for the southern colonies were not known or did not come until much later. There were some demonstrations, nevertheless, in preparation for their expected arrival. Dumfries, Virginia, effigied its distributor in September, and in Wilmington, North Carolina, the townspeople were forced to gather around a bonfire and drink toasts to Liberty, Property, and no Stamp Duty.<sup>18</sup> Though the preparation was better in some colonies than in others, and though we can dis-

<sup>16</sup> *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1765.

<sup>17</sup> *Boston Gazette, Supplement*, Sept. 16, 1765; Nathaniel Adams, *Annals of Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, 1825), p. 216.

<sup>18</sup> *Georgia Gazette*, Oct. 24, 1765; *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VII, 123 f.



cern it more easily in some cases, yet it may safely be said that everywhere some group was laying its plans and preparing the people for the actual work of intimidation.<sup>19</sup>

The activity of the Sons of Liberty did not cease with the resignation of the stamp masters. The spirit of opposition had to be kept up; though there were no officers there were stamps, and the act was to go into force on the first of November. The South eagerly awaited the arrival of the distributors and in the meantime united with their northern brethren in preventing the initial enforcement of the act. Radicals kept in touch with each other, making every effort to bring the doubtful colonies into line. Governor Bull of South Carolina thought that the Charlestonians were disposed to obey the act, but that they were so poisoned with principles propagated from Rhode Island and Boston (whence vessels frequently came) that they determined to seize the stamped papers.<sup>20</sup> And Governor Wright was sure that he would have had no trouble in Georgia "but for the inflammatory papers, letters, and messages continually sent to the people here from the Liberty Boys, as they call themselves, in Charlestown, South Carolina, and by whom I am very clear all our disturbances and difficulties have been occasioned."<sup>21</sup> Nor were the radicals any less active in their own colonies than they were in promoting the spirit elsewhere. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, a popular demonstration was held, but of course some groups were more alert than others to create opportunities. Only the Boston and Philadelphia leaders thought of celebrating the change in ministry, an event which was known in the colonies the second week in September. Notified of this happy omen by the town crier, the people of Boston assembled and with cheers drank in the new ministry, not forgetting the old, for the flag which toasted "PITT the Supporter of Liberty and the Terror of Tyrants" carried on the other side

To B—e and G—n—e, mark the event,  
Both Heaven and Earth are Foes,  
While Curses on each Wretch are sent  
By every Wind that blows.

<sup>19</sup> Much the same thing is apparent in Georgia in spite of the failure there. See *Georgia Gazette*, Nov. 14, 1765, recounting the events of September 27.

<sup>20</sup> W. R. Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province 1719-1776*, p. 351.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, 62.



The Philadelphians, still nursing their distributor along, were even more pointed in their actions; there was a bonfire for the new ministry and an effigy for the old, as represented by the stamp officer. The whooping and hallooing around the house of the "stamper" caused him hastily to bar his windows and doors and load his guns.<sup>22</sup>

Very few of the groups, however, failed to appear when it was thought stamps were arriving. With muffled, tolling bells, flags at half-mast, threatening placards, and swinging effigies, they greeted the vessels and forced the storing of the stamps in some safe place.<sup>23</sup>

The first of November was the important day in the calendar of the Sons of Liberty. It was then that the most elaborate demonstrations were held, the greatest efforts made to nullify the act. In some cities the printers were warned to continue issuing their weekly sheets lest they incur the just resentment of the people.<sup>24</sup> The celebrations on that "pregnant Day, big with the Fate of North America" evince the growing connection among the groups. Portsmouth, Newport, and Wilmington, North Carolina, all carried out practically the same program. American Liberty, aged one hundred and forty-five, was found in a dying condition, and preparations were made for her burial. She died upon November first; the funeral procession wound its doleful way through the streets and at the grave the Sons of Liberty addressed the weeping mourners: "Oh LIBERTY! the Darling of my Soul!—Glorious LIBERTY, admir'd, ador'd by all true Britons!—LIBERTY dead! it cannot be!" But at the moment of interment a groan was heard from the coffin, Liberty had only been in a trance. The rejoicing which naturally followed lasted until late in the night.<sup>25</sup> For the greater part, the demonstrations were carried off without actual violence. Governor Bernard felt keenly the insult implied in the celebration, but beyond a large amount of harmless yelling the crowd committed no depredations, though they had taken precautions that no one should inter-

<sup>22</sup> *Boston Gazette, Supplement*, Sept. 16, 1765; Thomas Balch, *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1855), p. 207.

<sup>23</sup> It is not necessary here to repeat the oft-told story of the reception of the stamps.

<sup>24</sup> It was reported in New York that the Boston printers had been told to continue or their office would be torn down. *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, Oct. 31, 1765. John Holt of New York received a similar warning. *Ibid.* Mr. Stuart of the *North Carolina Gazette* was told that if he stopped he would receive the same treatment as the stamp men. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VII, 124.

<sup>25</sup> See *Boston Gazette*, Nov. 11, 1765; *Newport Mercury*, Nov. 4, 1765; *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VII, 124. The affair in Newport was advertised in the *Mercury, Supplement*, October 28, 1765.



fere with their program.<sup>26</sup> In New York alone, where the stamps had not yet been dealt with, was there violence of any importance. Elsewhere the day was uniformly observed with effigies, tolling bells, and a great deal of shouting and drinking.

Perfect tranquillity followed the events of November first. "Peace Proclaimed" appeared on placards posted in New York and for some weeks gentlemen's windows and sensibilities were safe. Within a short time, however, Sons of Liberty were concerting new plans for keeping alive the spirit of opposition. Aside from a few scattered demonstrations the activity of the next two months centers about the stamp masters. In some of the southern colonies the distributors had just begun to arrive and as each landed he was met by an excited crowd, which demanded his resignation. In others the arrival of the stamps sent the crowd on a hunt for the unlucky receiver. Mr. Mercer of Virginia faced the people of Williamsburg on October 30; Mr. Houston of North Carolina came on November 16; the South Carolina distributors, George Saxby and Caleb Lloyd, agreed on October 26 to suspend the operation of their office, but in Georgia there was so much uncertainty as to the incumbent, and such energy exhibited by Governor Wright and the merchants, that the radicals obtained little satisfaction. Though John Parnham, acting on behalf of George Angus not yet arrived, agreed to suspend exercising the duties of the office, when Angus himself came in January he was protected by the governor and some stamps were used.<sup>27</sup> In the North, though the distributors had already resigned their offices in August and September, they were not to be left in peace, but once more were to serve the ends of the Liberty Boys.

<sup>26</sup> On the effigy of Grenville was a placard bearing a poem, one verse of which follows:

Take heed my Brother Rogues, take heed,  
In me your honest Portion read:  
Dear Cousin PETER no Excuse,  
Come down with me without your Shoes;  
'Tis G——le calls, and sink or swim,  
You'd go to H—L to follow him.

*Boston Gazette*, Nov. 4, 1765. Governor Bernard's comments may be found conveniently in J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England*, V. 339 note. He had wanted a night watch, but the colonel of the regiment said he could get no drummer to call the troops, for the one who had tried it had had his drum broken.

<sup>27</sup> Accounts may be conveniently found in H. J. Eckenrode, *The Revolution in Virginia*, pp. 25 f.; McCrady, *South Carolina under the Royal Government 1719-1776*, pp. 570 f.; *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VII, 123-125; Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, 64. William Houston seems to have been the only one of the southern distributors called upon a second time. On April 15 he was required to resign his commission and papers to Mayor De Rosset of Wilmington. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VII, 198.



Their activities in this connection show both alertness on the part of the local groups and an increasing degree of correlation among them. The Philadelphia radicals had had some difficulty with their distributor but had finally obtained a statement from him. Defection was feared, however, and from the uncertain accounts we have, it seems that the New York committee decided to lend its aid. John Lamb went to Philadelphia and with his help Hughes was once again forced to resign.<sup>28</sup> The New York Sons of Liberty were also active in the case of the Maryland stamp officer, Zachariah Hood. He had fled to New York after the refusal of the governor of Maryland to accept his resignation, but on November 28 he found himself in the hands of a group of New York Liberty Boys, who lost no time in obtaining complete satisfaction from him.<sup>29</sup> When the news of this was heard in Maryland, there was great rejoicing. The Lads of Frederick gathered around the dead body of the Stamp Act, and with many inscriptions and insulting epithets proceeded to the grave, where the only mourner was the effigy of Hood; at the close of the rites, he too fell dead—from grief no doubt—and was buried with his mistress.<sup>30</sup> After looking to the concerns of their neighbors, the New Yorkers turned to their own stamp master, who had foiled them by his voluntary resignation in August. They were not to be denied the pleasure of a personal visitation, however, and on December 2, James McEvers was forced to take the usual oath.<sup>31</sup> Mr. Coxe of New Jersey was called upon by the Liberty Boys of Woodbridge the last of December, and to them he tendered his second resignation.<sup>32</sup>

An even greater degree of correlation and of local preparation is seen in the case of New England. It was industriously rumored throughout Massachusetts that Andrew Oliver had taken up his commission and might execute it. The Loyal Nine—authors of the rumor?—immediately determined upon a second oath from him,

<sup>28</sup> See Isaac Q. Leake, *John Lamb*, p. 19, and more especially a letter of Joseph Allicocke, probably to Lamb, inclosing some packets with the following instructions: "look at the inclosed & Seal, and distribute them with speed, privacy, and usual Secrecy, let Hughes's be first delivered, drop one of the others the Evening following at the Coffee Ho. and do what you like with the Third." *Lamb Papers*, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, Dec. 5, 1765.

<sup>30</sup> *Maryland Gazette* (Green), Dec. 10, 1765.

<sup>31</sup> *New York Mercury*, Dec. 9, 1765. A week before, Peter de Lancey, the inspector appointed for Canada and Nova Scotia, had been forced to resign. *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, Nov. 28, 1765.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1766.



adjudging the first inconclusive. Under the most humiliating circumstances, on December 17, Andrew Oliver stood before the Sons of Liberty and solemnly swore never to execute the act. A broadside spread the glad news to the neighboring towns.<sup>33</sup> In Rhode Island as early as October there was a suggestion that Augustus Johnson still contemplated exercising the duties of his office, and a two-column diatribe in the *Newport Mercury* scored the perfidious stamp master who would resign his office and then call for stamps,<sup>34</sup> but it was not until December that actual steps against him were taken. On the twenty-fourth the Sons of Liberty waited upon him, but found the bird flown to that sanctuary of all government officials, one of His Majesty's men-of-war. Governor Ward then called upon him for a categorical statement, but on receiving no reply, the people took matters into their hands. The sheriff was sent aboard the ship, and he brought Johnson ashore into the waiting arms of the Liberty Boys. In their presence he damned the Stamp Act to all eternity—in perfect sincerity, we have no doubt. A few days later a curious piece was posted, declaring:

That no Son of Perdition among us . . . shall ever mention that detestable Pamphlet called a *Stamp Act*, with Applause, nor in any Way, by Word or Writing, Sign or Token, ever aid or assist in the Prosecution of the Contents thereof, without our highest Indignation. . . .<sup>35</sup>

From Rhode Island the flame spread to Connecticut. Jared Ingersoll had been under surveillance ever since his first resignation and some letters of his to officials in England had fallen into the hands of the Liberty Boys. A deputation was sent to him, and though he assured it of the honesty of his intentions and the harmless nature of his correspondence, no statement of his would satisfy the people, and in several places the letters were publicly read. The

<sup>33</sup> See the *Works of John Adams*, II, 156. The broadside may be found in the broadside collection of the Mass. Hist. Soc., under the date of Dec. 18, 1765. The day before Oliver was visited the following notice appeared in the *Boston Gazette*: "ALL the Distributors & Inspectors of the Stamps throughout *N. America*, have in the most public and solemn Manner, resigned their detestable Employment, except only the Hon. *Andrew Oliver*, esq. . . . who since the first instant has taken up his Commission.—Whether he intends to act under it or not, is uncertain? He only can resolve the question." The italics have been reversed.

<sup>34</sup> *Supplement*, Oct. 28, 1765. It is violently, even indecently, written.

<sup>35</sup> See *Rhode Island Records*, VI. 478; *Newport Mercury*, Dec. 30, 1765; *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1766. The piece was signed "by Order of the Right Worshipful Grand-Master, and the Wardens and Stewards of our Lodge, by four enter'd 'Prentices, E.O.A.Z." *Newport Mercury*, Jan. 6, 1766.



Sons of Liberty in Pomfret, after passing severe strictures on him, even urged that his letters be read in every county, offering to distribute copies to any desiring them.<sup>36</sup> Ingersoll, having had one experience with an irate crowd, had no wish for another, and on receipt of two anonymous letters calling on him for a statement of his intentions, he declared on oath that he would never execute the act, which he deemed an infringement of the liberties of colony and people. But even this did not appease the Sons of Liberty, and for some months thereafter his letters were still read at certain of the meetings.<sup>37</sup>

George Meserve was the last to feel the weight of popular resentment. As a preliminary to waiting on him, the Liberty Boys on January 3 assembled in parade with effigies of Grenville and Meserve, both in the chains of slavery. A committee of the leading inhabitants of Portsmouth was then sent to him, and to it he gave his official resignation, together with his commission and instructions, which were carried about the town on a sword.<sup>38</sup>

All the work of the Sons of Liberty up to this point had been done with the loose organization described above. The uprising against the stamp men and the events of the fall of 1765 had been the result of a general indignation against the Stamp Act and had required very little organization. But with the stamps stored and the first of November safely passed, the wave of enthusiasm began to die down. The violence of the radicals, and the desire of many to await the outcome of the petition of the Stamp Act Congress to the King, caused a gradual turning against the Liberty Boys, who felt their influence declining.<sup>39</sup> Even among the ranks of those who had supported the first disturbances divisions appeared, and

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<sup>36</sup> *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 13, 1766. See also New Haven Historical Society, *Papers*, IX, 362, 366.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 369 f. As late as March 1 they were still being read, and attempts were made to prevent his corresponding with English friends. *Ibid.*, p. 381. Even to write to Ingersoll was dangerous. Joseph Chew of New London wrote him: "will you believe me I am now become the attention of the Sons of Liberty who are desired by some of their western friends Closely to watch & observe my Actions and motions, for that I carry on a very traterous & wicked Correspondance with you." *Ibid.*, p. 377.

<sup>38</sup> *New Hampshire Gazette*, Jan. 10, 1766.

<sup>39</sup> E. g., *Montresor Journals*, p. 348; "Meetings of the Libertines who seem to decline, being much concerned that the Gentlemen of Fortune in the town dont publicly join them." This is most curiously corrupted in C. H. Van Tyne, *Causes of the War of Independence*, p. 171, to imply that they preferred that gentlemen did not join them.



there are constant references to the "True-Born Sons of Liberty" as distinct from the "Sons of License."<sup>40</sup>

Hence it was that the Sons of Liberty felt the need for reviving their influence and strengthening their position. They saw that they must gain the support of the better classes, and that closer contact of the local groups was essential.

The Boston Loyal Nine, by this time the Sons of Liberty, made the first attempt to interest the more important political leaders. John Adams was invited to attend one of the meetings; the committee was careful, we may be sure, that he heard nothing to shock him. Later his advice was requested on various important projects, and he was even asked to write inscriptions for some of their placards and transparencies.<sup>41</sup> The Portsmouth Boys after openly forming their society obtained the services of Dr. Samuel Langdon as their corresponding secretary, and the Newport Sons of Liberty gained the consent of Henry Ward, Metcalfe Bowler, and William Ellery to serve on their general committee.<sup>42</sup>

New York had already made contact with at least two members of the Council—John Morin Scott and William Smith—and the New York committee was the first to see the need for an intercolonial organization which would harmonize the activities of the Sons of Liberty and promote a firm union of them all. The leaders first sounded out other groups, sending agents late in December into New England to propose an association of the Sons of Liberty. This association involved on the part of its members the necessity of marching to the defense of any in danger of the Stamp Act, of watching vigilantly all those most likely to introduce the use of stamps, and of defending all who would agree not to enforce the act. All were to unite in promoting a strong union of the colonies.<sup>43</sup> On December 31 two of the agents arrived in New London and entered into conference with the leaders of the Liberty Boys there,

<sup>40</sup> For example, the broadside recounting the resignation of Oliver on December 17 speaks of the affair as carried out by the true-born Sons of Liberty. The notice of the proposed funeral of Liberty in Newport requested all "True Sons" to repair to the Coffee House, "but if there is any Bastard-kin, it is desired they would not sully his Memory with their Company." *Newport Mercury, Supplement*, Oct. 28, 1765. There seems to have been some dissension within the ranks of the New York group. See *Montresor Journals*, p. 347.

<sup>41</sup> *Works of John Adams*, II, 178 ff., 183, 184.

<sup>42</sup> *Belknap Papers*, (Massachusetts Historical Society), I, 61, and II, 111 f.; Rhode Island Historical Society, *Manuscripts*, XII, 67.

<sup>43</sup> I know of no other copy save that in William Gordon, *History of the Rise of Independence in America* (New York, 1794), I, 135 f., but from all I can gather it is substantially correct.



telling them of the rumor that troops were coming to enforce the Stamp Act. From New London they went to Norwich with the same story, urging that the agreement be adopted. Two others went to Boston, where they were admitted to the secret councils of the Sons of Liberty. The agents were told that there were three hundred men in Boston ready to arm on a moment's notice (probably a reference to Mackintosh and his followers), and forty thousand more in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. It was about this proposal that the Boston Liberty Boys consulted John Adams. Copies of the proposed association were sent to other New England towns and while only Connecticut seems to have entered into any agreement, everywhere there was interest.<sup>44</sup>

The next step in the New York program was the formation of local societies. A meeting was held on January 7 and several resolutions were passed indicating a determination to oppose the enforcement of the Stamp Act. On February 4 it was decided to appoint a committee of correspondence, and it was this committee which did so much to unify the Sons of Liberty in the northern colonies. The complete program of the New York society, which it hoped all others would adopt, comprised the formation of associations of Liberty Boys everywhere, an attack on any one suspected of handling stamps and on the stamps themselves, and an attempt to get the business of courts and customs offices carried on as usual. To carry out this program letters were addressed to the leaders of the Sons of Liberty wherever known, urging them to call a general meeting of their group and present these plans.<sup>45</sup> Repeated attempts were made by the committee to build up a correspondence with the southern Liberty Boys looking to the formation of societies there, but to little avail. There were Sons of Liberty in all the southern colonies,

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<sup>44</sup> See *The Fitch Papers* (Connecticut Historical Society, *Collections*, 1919-1920), II, 385-f.; *Works of John Adams*, II, 183 f.; *Lamb Papers*, p. 10. A statement from New Hampshire may be found in the *Belknap Papers*, III, 111 f. Colonel Israel Putnam sent advice that he would assist with the militia, but one would naturally expect this of the colonel. *Montresor Journals*, p. 350. There is some evidence of a similar spirit in New Jersey. Allcocke in a letter speaks of the rumors current in New York of defection there and in Philadelphia, "whereupon I was informed that our Liberty Boys were more than ordinarily enraged with their wonted Patriotic Fire, and I do verily believe, had there been truth in the assertion, a respectable Body of them would have filed off to the Southward and in their way would have been join'd with a noble passy of Jersey Folks, beside a succeeding Junction of Eastern Lads kept ready at a moments warning who upon occasion will swarm like the Industrious Bees. . . ." *Lamb papers*, p. 4. South Carolina offered similar assistance to Georgia. Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, 65.

<sup>45</sup> A careful analysis of this correspondence may be found in Becker, *Political Parties in New York*, pp. 46 ff.



but there is no evidence that they ever answered the letters of their northern friends.<sup>46</sup> In addition to the work of the New York group, an active correspondence advocating practically the same program was maintained among the New England towns, instigated as much in the first instance by Boston as by New York.<sup>47</sup>

In consequence of the letters sent out by New York and the New England towns, meetings were held all over the northern colonies.<sup>48</sup> The resolutions adopted concurred in general with the suggestions offered. They expressed loyalty to George III. and abhorrence of the Stamp Act, which was called arbitrary, tyrannical, and unconstitutional; they announced a willingness to unite with other groups, and contained strong statements against any who would handle stamps, and equally strong statements in favor of those officers who would carry on business as usual. Recognizing the disapproval with which the better class viewed the Sons of Liberty the gatherings united in declaring themselves the true-born Sons of Liberty determined to maintain the peace of the community.

To strengthen the society some groups even attempted an intra-colonial organization by the method, so important later, of conventions. In Connecticut delegates from "a great majority" of the towns met in Hartford on March 25 and drew up resolutions concurring in general with the suggestions made by New York and Boston.<sup>49</sup> The colonial association in Maryland grew out of the

<sup>46</sup> Boston wrote Portsmouth that the circulars to the South had "produced the desired effect, as far as we have heard, so that we have the most sanguine hopes of being a united body from South Carolina to New Hampshire in a few Weeks. . . ." Notice that Georgia was not included, *Belknap Papers*, III, 119. Much the same information may be seen in Rhode Island Historical Society, *Manuscripts*, XII, 67; and *Lamb Papers*, p. 33.

<sup>47</sup> "We are writing to all the Towns in the Province to know their Dispositions. . . ." Boston to Portsmouth, Feb. 10, 1766. *Belknap Papers*, III, 114. An excellent example of this New England correspondence may be seen in the first letter of Providence to Newport, Mar. 20, 1766: "From Principles of Duty to our Sovereign, from what we owe to ourselves, to our fellow Subjects in America, and to our Posterity, we have associated, and firmly united to risque our Lives and Fortunes in supporting His Majesty's Government in these Colonies, according to its true Form and Texture; and to oppose with all our Might and Strength, any Invasions of our Rights and Privileges from His Majesty's Enemies." Rhode Island Historical Society, *Manuscripts*, XII, 64. See also *New Hampshire Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1766.

<sup>48</sup> Though we have reason to believe that all the more important towns and many of the smaller ones had societies or groups styling themselves Sons of Liberty, it might be well to list here those towns which we know by direct evidence to have had them: in New Hampshire, Exeter, Portsmouth; in Massachusetts, Barnstable, Boston, Cambridge, Leominster, Marblehead, Newburyport, Plymouth, Salem; in Rhode Island, Providence, Newport; in Connecticut, Canterbury, Fairfield, Hartford, New Haven, New London, Norwich, Pomfret, Preston, Stratford, Wallingford, Windham; in New York, Albany, Huntington, New York City, Oyster Bay, White Plains; in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and Essex and Sussex counties (Delaware); in New Jersey, Burlington, Freehold, Hunterdon, Middletown, New Brunswick, Piscataway, Salem, Sussex, Trenton, Woodbridge; in Maryland, Annapolis, Baltimore, Frederick, and the following counties: Anne Arundel, Ball, Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne, Somerset, Worcester; in Virginia, Leedstown, Norfolk, Richmond, Williamsburg; in North Carolina, Edenton, Brunswick, Newbern, Wilmington; in South Carolina, Charleston; in Georgia, Savannah. Evidence of others could be found no doubt.

<sup>49</sup> *Connecticut Courant*, Mar. 31, 1766. A suggestion that some such plan be adopted appeared in the *Connecticut Gazette*, Dec. 6, 1765.



attempt to open courts and customs houses, and since single groups were ineffective each town was requested to send a delegation to aid. This convention did meet and accomplished its purpose.<sup>50</sup> New Jersey worked out still more completely the details. Each town was to elect delegates to a county convention, which was to appoint a county committee of correspondence. From this county committee delegates were to be sent to a provincial convention, which in turn was to select a committee for the colony. How perfectly this plan was followed in practice does not appear.<sup>51</sup>

The second item in the program of the united Sons of Liberty was undying opposition to any who would enforce the Stamp Act. Though in many cases the Liberty Boys contented themselves with declaring offenders enemies to their country, in many others they set about intimidating them. A vigorous campaign was waged against all suspicious characters; if there was any wretch crawling upon the face of the earth who would urge submission to the act, said one orator, "it is no matter how soon he [is] put six foot below the surface of it."<sup>52</sup> Feeling ran high, and those unfortunates who made themselves obnoxious to the Sons of Liberty often met with harsh treatment. Much time was spent in the coffee houses and taverns, where idle rumor flourished and wild talk often crystallized into action. Many a man's name came up before such gatherings; often notice was sent to him to appear in defense of his principles or actions; often the crowd, after a particularly stirring session, poured out of the tavern in an excess of enthusiasm, running down their victim. In this way many dubious characters served the restless spirit of the Sons of Liberty, keeping them united and alert. In general two groups received attention: those who dealt in any way with stamps or spoke favorably of the act, and those officials who showed a disposition to enforce the act. In the case of the former there was little difficulty about obtaining satisfaction, for most of them felt as did Samuel Waterhouse of Boston, who told the Sons of Liberty that he hadn't asked for the office of distributor, wouldn't accept it if offered, and would think himself "greatly ill

<sup>50</sup> *Maryland Gazette* (Green), Mar. 6, 20, and Apr. 3, 1766. Also *Lamb Papers*, p. 19, and two broadsides in the New York Historical Society, "The Proceedings of the Sons of Liberty of Baltimore-town."

<sup>51</sup> *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, Mar. 6, 1766; *Lamb Papers*, p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> *A Discourse, Addressed to the Sons of Liberty* (Providence, 1766), p. 7.



treated thereby" if offered it—as indeed he would have been! <sup>53</sup> It was a similar case which led to the open formation of the Liberty Boys in one Virginia town. Hearing that Archibald Ritchie of Hobbs Hole had publicly declared that he would clear his vessel with stamped sailing orders, a group of people assembled at Leedstown to consider the situation. They took a solemn oath to associate together in defense of their rights infringed by the Stamp Act—particularly the right of trial by jury—and adopted strong resolutions against any user of stamps, declaring that they "*would convince every such Profligate, that immediate Danger and Disgrace shall attend their Prostitute Purpose.*" All associators were to notify others of violations of this pledge. Then, four hundred strong, they waited upon Ritchie, assuring him of their intention to strip him and tie him to a cart's tail unless he recanted. After some hesitation, probably to test the real temper of the crowd, he signed the statement demanded of him. <sup>54</sup>

More serious was the problem of those officials who would either enforce the act or close their offices. In some cases the matter was taken up by the civil authorities, but where the resolutions of towns or assemblies were insufficient the Sons of Liberty acted. The Providence society wrote complacently that business was going on as usual with them, but the Connecticut Boys were forced to admit that their greatest exertions were ineffectual. <sup>55</sup> Equally so was the work of the New York Committee, but in Sussex County, Delaware, a visitation to the civil authorities produced the desired results. <sup>56</sup> The New Jersey legislature as early as November 30 had authorized all government offices to continue, and all meetings of the Sons of Liberty indorsed resolutions asking offices to open, offering to support all who would disobey the Act. The last step was taken in February;

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<sup>53</sup> *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 13, 1766. Waterhouse had previously come to the attention of the Sons of Liberty by making remarks unfavorable to them. *Boston Gazette*, Dec. 30, 1765, and Jan. 13, Feb. 3, 1766. The case of Lieutenant Hallam, which created so much excitement in New York, may be found in W. C. Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 65, and that of Henry Van Schaack in the *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, Jan. 22, 1766. In one case a man refused to pay a debt because the writ was not stamped. The people assembled and voted: "That this man is not a Christian. That he ought to be of some Religion. That he be a Jew. Whereupon, *Resolved*, That he be circumcised." Terrified, he recanted. *Boston Gazette*, Mar. 31, 1766.

<sup>54</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), May 16, 1766.

<sup>55</sup> See *Lamb Papers*, p. 21, and Rhode Island Historical Society, *Manuscripts*, XII, 70. "As to the Connecticut Courts they still continue inactive, tho' all possible Methods are by us taken to urge them on." Norwich Sons of Liberty to Portsmouth, *Belknap Papers*, III, 118. The customs houses were open. See L. H. Gipson, *Jared Ingersoll*, pp. 214 f.

<sup>56</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Apr. 3, 1766.



when a deputation of the Liberty Boys gained the consent of the lawyers to resume business.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, the united Sons of Liberty in Maryland began their campaign to enforce the continuance of business in March, but it was not until delegations from all the counties called upon the justices that they finally agreed.<sup>58</sup> Virginia was slightly embarrassed by the constant requests to coöperate in this movement, for as Richard Henry Lee pointed out to his associates, the problem there was different. Virginia could best defeat the Act, it was felt, by refusing to open the courts, but the leaders did not want other colonies to get the impression that Virginia was lost to the cause of liberty.<sup>59</sup> In North Carolina the people were primarily concerned about the customs houses. On February 12 there appeared an article in the *North Carolina Gazette* urging the people to demand the return of certain vessels seized for lack of properly stamped papers. On the eighteenth the Sons of Liberty gathered at Wilmington and marched to Brunswick. For three days they argued with the governor and officers to no avail. So insistent was the crowd, however, that on the twenty-first the collectors of the port finally agreed to release the vessels. Their positions they had wisely resigned before appearing.<sup>60</sup>

The third and last item in the general program of the Sons of Liberty was a declaration of war on all stamped paper. In spite of warnings, the storing of the stamps, and the resignation of the stamp distributors, some stamped paper did get into the colonies, largely from the West Indies, where the act was in force. It was generally agreed that a public example should be made of all such paper and its owners. The usual procedure was to exhibit during the day the sample found and to burn it in the evening, at which time the unlucky owner was required to take an oath that he had no more and would never again use any. All over the northern colonies such

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<sup>57</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 12, 1765, and Mar. 27, 1766; *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, Mar. 27, May 8, 1766; *Pennsylvania Journal*, Feb. 20, 1766.

<sup>58</sup> *Lamb Papers*, p. 19, *Maryland Gazette* (Green), Mar. 6, Apr. 3, 1766, "The Proceedings of the Sons of Liberty" (broadside, N. Y. Hist. Soc.).

<sup>59</sup> "I could wish some method were fallen upon, to inform the Northern Colonys, that our not following their example, proceeds from no regard for the Stamp Act, but the very different situation of our affairs from theirs with respect to Great Britain." *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, I, 15.

<sup>60</sup> *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), Mar. 21, 1766. Governor Tryon's account of this may be found in *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VII, 169 ff.



exhibitions took place during the late winter and spring of 1766.<sup>61</sup> William Bradford of Philadelphia even notified the New York committee of the presence of stamps there, reproving them for their laxity in not searching these out and burning them.<sup>62</sup> So important did the Sons of Liberty deem these demonstrations in keeping alive public interest that they selected a day on which the groups were to unite in an exhibition of this sort. The Boston letter to Portsmouth communicating this decision even outlined the procedure to be followed and the toasts to be drunk after the burning.<sup>63</sup>

Aside from this general program other suggestions were made, two of which are of sufficient importance to engage our attention. The first seems to have originated with Providence. At a meeting of the Liberty Boys on March 15 a resolution was adopted recommending an agreement to prevent all commerce with those colonies which permitted the use of stamps, and a circular letter was sent to the other New England towns, which replied that they were heartily in favor of some such plan.<sup>64</sup> The second suggestion originated with Boston in the fertile mind of either Samuel Adams or Jonathan Mayhew. This was a proposal that even in the event of a repeal a union of writers should be established in each colony "to prevent the cunning & Artifice of some designing Men who perhaps may attempt some other Method to enforce their Schemes."<sup>65</sup> This proposal also met with approval, and New York added the suggestion that if the act were enforced a convention of the Sons of Liberty

<sup>61</sup> E.g., the Portsmouth Sons called a meeting of the society to obtain satisfaction from Joseph Leigh for having a stamped bond. *New Hampshire Gazette*, Mar. 28, 1766. Demonstrations were held in nearly all the northern coast towns; very few stamps got inland. See *Boston Gazette*, Feb. 3, 24, and Mar. 3, 1766; *Montresor Journals*, pp. 344, 345, 358; *Lamb Papers*, p. 8a.

<sup>62</sup> A Mr. Pintard, owner of a stamped Mediterranean bond, and Charles Williams, the signer, were the ones named by Bradford. These two were hunted up and threatened with harsh treatment, but were saved by some clergyman, to whom they made their confessions. *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, Feb. 20, 1766; *Montresor Journals*, pp. 349, 350.

<sup>63</sup> The *Massachusetts Gazette*, Feb. 20, 1766, gives the general plan. The Boston letter is worth quoting in full. "Enclosed you will find a Portion of that detestable Paper mark'd with AMERICA'S OPPRESSION it being half that we obtain'd of a Brother of ours from another Colony which we intend to exhibit with chains &c. next Thursday in a Public Manner on Liberty Tree—The Occasion of our delaying is, that we may have them exhibited at one Time—It will be taken down at 12 O'clock by a Common Execution[er] and burnt—Let us show as much abhorrence as possible—After which We propose to have the following Toasts drank—George the third, our gracious, rightful and Lawful Sovereign—Succession to the Royal House of Hanover—Confusion to its Enemies—Success to the Foes of the Stamp-Act—A perpetual Itching without the Benefit of Scratching to the Friends of the same—Long Life Health & Prosperity to all the Sons of Liberty on the Continent—" *Belknap Papers*, III, 116. The letter is dated February 17, 1766.

<sup>64</sup> *Newport Mercury*, Mar. 24, 1766; Rhode Island Historical Society, *Manuscripts*, XII, 64, 65, 66; *Belknap Papers*, III, 122.

<sup>65</sup> Rhode Island Historical Society, *Manuscripts*, XII, 67. Mayhew made a suggestion that the colonial assemblies undertake this task. Alden Bradford, *Life of Jonathan Mayhew*, pp. 428 ff. Adams wrote the letter to Providence.



should be called.<sup>66</sup> The repeal nullified this proposal and there is no evidence that Boston's union of writers ever materialized until the idea along with others bore fruit in the committees of correspondence.

Meantime, during the progress of these plans, local units of the Sons of Liberty were carrying out a few private affairs of their own. The New York committee was engaging in all sorts of activity: aiding the merchants in enforcing the non-importation agreement, deciding whether or not groups of strolling players might act, encouraging the hundreds of little boys who frequently tramped the streets at night shouting "Liberty and No Stamps!," even entering into negotiations with the Indians of the Six Nations looking to a defensive alliance against His Majesty's troops.<sup>67</sup> Other groups were setting up Liberty Poles, or Trees, to act as a constant reminder of the threatened invasion of American rights,<sup>68</sup> and still others were commending their local celebrities for their energy in defending those rights.<sup>69</sup>

News of the repeal cut short all further plans. Plots and machinations were swallowed up in the wave of rejoicing which swept over the country. Bells rang and cannon boomed; messengers in hot haste spread the joyful tidings to the farthest reaches of the colonies. Everywhere it was the same story. Northwards the Sons of Liberty staged celebrations during the day and at night gentlemen kept open house, serving refreshment to the perennially thirsty Liberty Boys.<sup>70</sup> To the south there were the same celebrations during the day, and at night gentlemen danced while commoners sat around huge bonfires drinking toasts, each one a full bumper, until gentlemen could not turn another step and Liberty Boys could not hold another glass.<sup>71</sup> The struggle was over, and peace reigned.

<sup>66</sup> *Lamb Papers*, p. 30.

<sup>67</sup> *Montresor Journals*, pp. 353, 362, 364, 367 f.; *New York Mercury*, Apr. 28, 1766.

<sup>68</sup> E.g., Braintree, Boston, Newport. *Works of John Adams*, II, 194, and *Boston Gazette*, Apr. 28, 1766.

<sup>69</sup> For example, the Norfolk Sons of Liberty publicly thanked Richard Bland for his pamphlet on the Stamp Act. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), May 30, 1766.

<sup>70</sup> Only one illustration need be given. The Boston Boys constructed an elaborate pyramid engraved on all sides with very poor poetry. Their sisters, the Daughters of Liberty, viewed the whole affair from the balconies along King Street, and at night Otis and Hancock served drinks. *Boston Gazette*, May 26, 1766.

<sup>71</sup> Again only one illustration is necessary. At Williamsburg and Hampton Court House there was a ball and supper, with a bonfire and refreshments for the commonalty. *Virginia Gazette*, (Purdie), June 13, 20, 1766.



## A BRITISH ORDERLY BOOK, 1780-1781

Edited by A. R. NEWSOME

### INTRODUCTION

Disappointed by failure in the North and attracted by reports of Southern loyalism, the British shifted the war for the subjugation of the American colonies to the South late in 1778. Savannah was captured in December, and the interior of Georgia occupied. A year later Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British forces in America, sailed from New York with a strong fleet and army and forced the surrender of Charleston in May, 1780. Interior South Carolina was at the mercy of the invader. In June Clinton left Cornwallis to hold Georgia and South Carolina and to conquer North Carolina and Virginia.

Partisan bands in the Carolinas intimidated loyalists and neutrals, surprised Cornwallis by their activity, and convinced him that he must attack North Carolina or "give up both South Carolina and Georgia & retire within the Walls of Charles town."<sup>1</sup> Horatio Gates, chosen by congress to save the patriot cause in the South, blundered into the disaster of Camden on August 16. In September Cornwallis penetrated North Carolina to Charlotte; but the crushing defeat at King's Mountain on October 7 of Col. Patrick Ferguson, who had been dispatched to the west to enlist recruits and protect the British left flank, forced the hasty retreat of Cornwallis to Winnsboro, S. C.

Since early in August, Cornwallis had been urging upon Clinton in New York the importance of an early diversion in the Chesapeake Bay region.<sup>2</sup> The failure of Arnold's treachery and the arrival of Rodney's squadron in September permitted Clinton to comply with the request of Cornwallis. Though he regarded inland operations in the Carolinas with little favor and Cornwallis's reliance on loyalist support as visionary, Clinton was impelled by the critical situation

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<sup>1</sup> Cornwallis to Clinton, Charlestown, August 6, 1780, in *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 238. A good general survey of the campaign in the Carolinas in 1780-81 is found in J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, III, 331-333, 352, 355-378. Other accounts are in G. W. Greene, *Life of Nathanael Greene*, 3 vols.; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783*; and David Schenck, *North Carolina, 1780-81*.

<sup>2</sup> Cornwallis to Clinton, August 6, 23, 29, 1780, in *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 238, 258, 263.



of his southern commander to send aid. He ordered Major-General Alexander Leslie with about 2,500 troops, consisting of the Guards, Maclean's 82nd, one German battalion, and two provincial corps, to embark for Chesapeake Bay to make a diversion in favor of Cornwallis, who by the time of Leslie's arrival, should be "acting in the back parts of North Carolina." The instructions to Leslie were elastic and subject to the approval of Cornwallis, but suggested that it was "best to proceed up James River as high as possible, in order to destroy any magazines the enemy may have at Petersburg, Richmond, or any of the places adjacent; and finally, to establish a post on Elizabeth River."<sup>3</sup> Leslie sailed from New York on October 15 and arrived off the capes of Virginia on October 19 with instructions to place himself under the orders of Cornwallis and, if Cornwallis had penetrated far into North Carolina, to form a junction with him from Petersburg.<sup>4</sup> Learning from Williamsburg newspapers of Ferguson's defeat at King's Mountain, Leslie determined to await certain intelligence of the situation of Cornwallis. He fortified Portsmouth, secured the posts of Great Bridge and Northwest Landing, and stationed a body of troops near Suffolk. On November 9 he received a letter from Lord Rawdon, written for Cornwallis on October 24 from the camp west of the Catawba in South Carolina, setting forth that the tranquillity of South Carolina upon which the Chesapeake diversion was predicated was illusory and begging him, if his instructions permitted, to proceed to the Cape Fear River, where his coöperation would be more effectual.<sup>5</sup> Cornwallis, embarrassed by threatened communications and the enforced retreat from North Carolina, planned to join Leslie at Cross Creek. "I can only say that I most impatiently long for the day of meeting with you."<sup>6</sup>

With Clinton's approval but with disappointment at quitting Virginia, Leslie embarked his whole force on November 15 and fell down to Hampton Roads where heavy winds delayed the departure for the Cape Fear until the 22nd.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile Cornwallis, having

<sup>3</sup> Clinton to Leslie, New York, October 10, 1780, in *ibid.*, I, 270-271.

<sup>4</sup> Leslie to Lord George Germain, Off Cape Hatteras, November 27, 1780, in *British Public Record Office*, C. O. 5, vol. 183, pp. 497-499. Leslie dates his arrival on the 20th, but the *Orderly Book* establishes it on the 19th.

<sup>5</sup> Rawdon to Leslie, October 24, 1780, in *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 271-276.

<sup>6</sup> Cornwallis to Leslie, Winnsborough, November 12, 1780, in *ibid.*, I, 295-297.

<sup>7</sup> Clinton to Leslie, New York, November 12, 1780, in *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 294; Leslie to Germain, November 27, 1780, in C. O. 5, vol. 183, pp. 497-499; Arbuthnot to Philip Stephens, Off Staten Island, December 14, 1780, in *Admiralty I*, vol. 486, p. 1010.



decided that the coöperation of Leslie even at the distance of the Cape Fear would be attended with difficulties, sent cruisers to meet him and bring him to Charleston.<sup>8</sup> On board the *Romulus* off Cape Hatteras on November 27, Leslie learned from a letter of the commandant of Charleston, delivered by the *Galatea*, that Cornwallis had sent him orders to proceed to Charleston.<sup>9</sup> On December 14 Leslie arrived at Charleston with only the loss of the dragoon horses and found orders to march inland with about 1,530 men and join Cornwallis as soon as possible. The lack of horses and wagons delayed his departure until the 19th. He proceeded by way of Nelson's Ferry to Camden and held a conference with Cornwallis at Winnsboro, at which it was agreed that Cornwallis should move from Winnsboro toward North Carolina on January 8 and that Leslie should march from Camden on the 9th with the Guards, the regiment of Bose and Yagers, and the North Carolina regiment, and overtake Cornwallis about 70 miles from Camden.<sup>10</sup>

Nathanael Greene, appointed by Washington to succeed Gates in the South, had taken command at Charlotte on December 4 and soon moved to the Pee Dee. Too weak to attack the British, he audaciously divided his small force by sending Morgan to the west beyond the Catawba. Unable to march his entire force against Greene without exposing western posts to Morgan or against Morgan without leaving Greene free to occupy Charleston and the east, Cornwallis dispatched Tarleton to crush Morgan or pursue him across Broad River where he, moving up the left bank toward North Carolina, could intercept him. Later he could crush the American army under Greene. But Morgan gained a brilliant victory over Tarleton at Cowpens on January 17 and hurried eastward across the Broad lest Cornwallis cut off his retreat. In camp at Turkey Creek twenty-five miles southeast of Cowpens, Cornwallis anxiously awaited Leslie, whose arrival was delayed by rain and mud until the 18th; and then, by marching northwestward instead of northward, he allowed the

<sup>8</sup> Cornwallis to Clinton, Winnsborough, December 3, 1780, in *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 308.

<sup>9</sup> Leslie to Germain, November 27, 1780, in C. O. 5, vol. 183, pp. 497-499.

<sup>10</sup> Cornwallis to Clinton, Winnsborough, December 22, 1780, in *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 313; Leslie to Germain, Charlestown, December 19, 1780, in Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781*, pp. 242-243; Leslie to Clinton, Camden, January 8, 1781, in *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 317. Leslie says that he did not arrive at Charleston "before the 13th instant." Cornwallis states the specific date of the 14th. On January 5 Cornwallis wrote Tarleton that he intended to march from Winnsboro on January 7. Tarleton, *op. cit.*, 247.



swiftly-moving Morgan, aided by swollen streams, to escape. Embarrassed and mortified, Cornwallis destroyed his heavy baggage at Ramsour's Mill and set out to overtake and destroy Morgan. Greene ordered his army northward and rode across country to join Morgan's army in front of Cornwallis. Then followed the historic American retreat and British pursuit across the red hills of piedmont North Carolina in mid-winter. Greene outwitted Cornwallis, reunited his forces at Guilford Court House and crossed the Dan River just in advance of his pursuers. Cornwallis fell back to Hillsboro and raised the royal standard. Reinforced until his army outnumbered that of his enemy, Greene recrossed the Dan on February 23; and Cornwallis moved westward, eager for a decisive engagement. On March 15 occurred the obstinate and bloody conflict at Guilford Court House—a brilliant feat of arms but not a victory for the British, who received no solid advantage to compensate for their heavy losses. Destitute of provisions and too weak to take the offensive against Greene, Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington. Greene soon gave up the pursuit and led his army into South Carolina. Ignoring Clinton's instruction not to imperil Charleston, forgetful of his promise to return to the loyalists at Cross Creek, and professing no prospect of being able to relieve Rawdon in South Carolina, he marched northward to Virginia. On October 19 he surrendered at Yorktown.<sup>11</sup>

The British Orderly Book, of which the first instalment is published herewith, covers the period from August 28, 1780, to March 20, 1781. The orders cover military operations in New York from August 28 to October 15, Leslie's expedition to Portsmouth and thence by way of Charleston to the army of Cornwallis in upper South Carolina, the march of Cornwallis across North Carolina, the Guilford Court House campaign, and the first part of the British retreat to Wilmington. The book is a manuscript volume 6½x4x1¼ inches, leather bound, with the back cover missing. The contents are in two distinct alternating handwritings, neither of which is identifiable, though evidently the writers were in the command of Major-General Alexander Leslie. The book was presented to the North

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<sup>11</sup> An excellent account of the interacting events leading to Yorktown is found in Randolph G. Adams, "A View of Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII, (October, 1931), 25-49.



Carolina Historical Commission during the biennium 1914-16 by Chief Justice Walter Clark. The latter portion, beginning with the entry of January 18 and covering less than half of the book, was published in 1856 as the Appendix of *Interesting Revolutionary Incidents*, Second Series, by E. W. Caruthers, who had access to the volume in Chapel Hill. It is likely that Chief Justice Clark, who was an executor of the wife of D. L. Swain, manuscript collector, governor, and president of the University, obtained it from the estate and presented it to the Historical Commission. Nothing more, except what is revealed by internal evidence, is known of the book.

## I

## ORDERLY BOOK

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57		6
80 <sup>th</sup>		1-1-1- 11
		<hr/> 1-2-1- 32

<sup>1</sup> Those designated to cut long cylindrical faggots of brush or other small wood, firmly bound together at short intervals, used in filling up ditches, the construction of batteries, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The German troops hired by the English government were called Hessians. The German states of Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau, Anspach-Bayreuth, Waldeck, and Anhalt-Zerbst furnished a total of 29,867 soldiers, 17,313 of whom returned home at the close of the war. Of the 12,554 who did not return, it is estimated that 1,200 died in combat, 6,354 died of illness and accident, and 5,000 deserted. E. J. Lowell, *The Hessians and the Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War*, 299-300.

<sup>3</sup> Laurel Hill was near Fort Washington. In the attack on the fort in 1776, Cornwallis captured an American battery on the Hill. E. J. Lowell, *op. cit.*, 80.

<sup>4</sup> Captain, subaltern, sergeant, corporal, drummer, and private.

<sup>5</sup> Those designated to provide defence by placing felled trees lengthwise one over the other with their branches towards the enemy's line.



MORRIS HOUSE, Aug<sup>st</sup> ye 28 1780

Parole, *Limerick*

C[ounter] S[ign], *Loreberg*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Schutz-

*Detail for Work as usual*

Hess<sup>ns</sup> Give the Cap<sup>t</sup> to the Fascine Party, British ye Sub<sup>n</sup>. Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill, British do to do. Hess<sup>ns</sup> Ye Sub<sup>n</sup> to ye Abattis Cutters.

*British orders*

G<sup>d</sup> Give ye Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill—80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to the Fascine Cutters. British Detail as Yesterday-

B: O M<sup>r</sup> Eld Officer for Laurel Hill.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 2<sup>d</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Parole, *Thetford, Tonhausen*

C. Sign, *Torgon*

Field Officers for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Dundass<sup>6</sup> The Working Parties will in future Parade at Six oClock & Work till Ten-

Detail as Usual. Hess<sup>ns</sup> Give Ye Cap<sup>t</sup> to Laurel Hill—Brit<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> each. British a Sub<sup>n</sup> to ye Abettis Cutters—Hess<sup>ns</sup> to ye Fascine Party.

*British Orders*

57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Give ye Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill—80<sup>th</sup> to the Abattis Party.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 29<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1780

Parole, *Belfast*

C Sign, *Berlin*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow Major Kutzleben. British Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> to F. Cutters, Hessians ye Sub<sup>n</sup>. British & Hess<sup>ns</sup> one Sub<sup>n</sup> each to Laurell Hill—Abattis Cutters, British a Sub<sup>n</sup>.

The Grenadier Companies of the G<sup>ds</sup> having returned to their original Q<sup>rs</sup> viz<sup>t</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> G<sup>r</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> to ye Barrack in ye Main Barrier, ye 2<sup>d</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> to that in Fort Tryon they will as before take the Duties of these Working & in consequence of this additional Duty—the Hess<sup>ns</sup> will give ye Serj<sup>t</sup> & 10<sup>P</sup> to ye Cunclier'd[?] House below P: Charles's Redoubt & a Corp<sup>l</sup> & 3<sup>P</sup> to ye Protect ye materials belonging to ye Engineer Department on Laurell Hill.

Mem<sup>m</sup> Strayed from ye pasture near Morris House Two Horses belonging to H: E: L<sup>t</sup> G<sup>l</sup> Knyphausen<sup>7</sup> branded with ye Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> G<sup>ls</sup> Mark—it is requested that whoever finds the Same will Send them to Morris House

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Dundas, 1750-94, lieutenant-colonel of the 80th regiment or Royal Edinburgh Volunteers; afterwards major general, a commissioner to arrange the articles of the capitulation of Yorktown, a commissioner for investigating the claims of loyalists, a member of parliament, and a distinguished participant in the capture of Guadeloupe in 1794. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 427.

<sup>7</sup> Baron Wilhelm de Knyphausen, 1716-1800, lieutenant-general of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. He served in the Seven Year's war; arrived in America in June, 1776, as second in command of the German auxiliaries under General Heister; was engaged in the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Fort Washington, Brandywine and Monmouth; commanded at New York during Clinton's absence at Charleston in 1780; accompanied Clinton to England in 1782 where he received a pension of £300; and was later governor of Cassel. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 440; E. J. Lowell, *op. cit.*, *passim*.



*G<sup>l</sup> orders New York 28 Aug<sup>t</sup> 1780*

His E<sup>y</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> Commander in Chief<sup>8</sup> has been pleased to appoint Major John Andree<sup>9</sup> to be Adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Army under His Command untill His Majesty's Pleasure is known. A Court of enquirey to Assemble at Kingsbridge<sup>10</sup> on Wednesday Morning Next at 10 Clock to examine into Such Matters as Shall be laid before it-

L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Howard<sup>11</sup> President

L <sup>t</sup> Col <sup>l</sup> Schutz	}	Members
Norton		
Major Snell		
Gordon		

*British Orders*

80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Cutters; 57, y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> Abatis Cutters; 80, y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> Laurell Hill.

Mem<sup>m</sup> Lost last night between the Barrier & Falkners House a Long Red Sash whoever will bring Y<sup>e</sup> Same to y<sup>e</sup> Serj<sup>t</sup> Major of the 57<sup>th</sup> Will receive Two Dollars reward.

B: O: The Brigade of G<sup>ds</sup> will hold themselves in readiness to embark on y<sup>e</sup> Shortest notice

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 30<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1780.

Parole, *Armeck*

C S, *Bergen*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Norton The Fascine Party is reduced to one Sub<sup>n</sup> & Fifty Privates who will Parade with the Abattis Cutters at y<sup>e</sup> Main Barrier—The Cap<sup>tn</sup> with the other Fifty will join (& take y<sup>e</sup> Command of) the Party of 200 Men on Laurel Hill—& the Detail for that Duty will in future be

C-S-S-C-D-P  
1-2-3-3-2-250

Other Detail as usual. British y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> for Laurel Hill & Hess<sup>ns</sup> & British a Sub<sup>n</sup> each. Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Abattis Cutters—British y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Cutters.

<sup>8</sup> General Sir Henry Clinton, 1738-1795, who succeeded Sir William Howe in 1778 as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. He rose in the military service from lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards in 1751 to captain in 1758, colonel in 1762, major-general in 1772, and general in 1776. He arrived in America in 1775 and distinguished himself at Bunker Hill. He served several terms in Parliament, was created Knight of the Bath, and was appointed governor of Gibraltar in 1794. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 412; *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>9</sup> Major John André, 1751-1780, who was executed by order of George Washington on October 2, 1780, for complicity in the treason of Benedict Arnold. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 405.

<sup>10</sup> King's Bridge was near Fort Washington on the eastern side of the Hudson above New York.

<sup>11</sup> John Howard, appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 1st regiment of Foot Guards in 1773, and colonel in November, 1780. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 437.



*British Orders*

G<sup>ds</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> W: Party Laurel Hill; 80<sup>th</sup>, Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine party; 57<sup>th</sup> to Laurel Hill.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, Aug<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> 1780

Parole, *Dublin*

C Sign, *Dartmund*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow Lt Col<sup>l</sup> Stuart-<sup>12</sup>

Detail for Work as Usual. Hess<sup>ns</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill—B<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> each. Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Fascine Cutters—British to y<sup>e</sup> Abattis. Y<sup>e</sup> Hess<sup>ns</sup> will give y<sup>e</sup> Provision G<sup>d</sup> till further orders.

*British orders*

80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill, 57<sup>th</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Abattis Party

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, Sep<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1780

Parole, *Wexford & Witzler*

C Sign, *Wicklow*

Field officers for the Lines tomorrow Major Maxwell.<sup>13</sup> British y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurell, B<sup>h</sup> & H<sup>n</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> each, British a Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Cutters, Hess<sup>ns</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Abattis Cutters-

*British Orders*

G<sup>ds</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> and y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Fascine Cutters.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 3<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>st</sup> [September] 1780

Paroles, *Brentford, Berlin*

C Sign, *Belfast*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow Major Brownlow-

Detail as usual. British y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill—B<sup>h</sup> & H<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> each. Brit<sup>h</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine, H<sup>ns</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Abattis Cutters.

*British orders*

Guards the Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill—80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Cutters, 57 Reg<sup>t</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup>.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 4<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Dartford, Dresden*

C Sign, *Drontheim*

Field Officer for the Lines tomorrow Lt Col<sup>l</sup> Pennington. Hess<sup>ns</sup> the Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill, B<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> each. British the Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Abbattis, Hess<sup>ns</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Cutters.

<sup>12</sup> Alexander Stuart, who in 1781 succeeded Lord Rawdon in command in South Carolina and was relieved by Leslie later in the year. Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783*, 424, 492.

<sup>13</sup> Probably Major Maxwell of Maryland and of the Prince of Wales Regiment. Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 52-53.



*British orders*

80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill & to the Abattis Cutters

B: O. Lt Col<sup>l</sup> Howard orders that no more than two officers at a time of their Respective Batt<sup>ns</sup> are to have leave of Absence from Kingsbridge. Officers are not to be Absent from Q<sup>rs</sup> all Night without Permission of the Commandant of y<sup>e</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> who is particularly requested that No Sub<sup>n</sup> obtains His Permission except the Name of y<sup>e</sup> off<sup>r</sup> is left in writing who during his absence will undertake his Duty.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> NEW YORK, 3<sup>d</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1780.

Extract of a letter from Lord George Germaine,<sup>14</sup> to Sir Henry Clinton K: B: dated White Hall 4<sup>th</sup> July 1780

The honorable testimony you give of the distinguished Merit of ye offrs who executed your orders & of the fortitude & alacrity of ye Troops that Served under them, was particularly pleasing to ye King; & it is His Majesty's Royal pleasure, that you do acquaint both officers & Soldiers; British Foreign & Provincial that their intrepid & Gallant behaviour is highly approved by His Majesty but altho in this Gl praise every officer & Soldier is included His Majesty Commands me to desire you will express to Lt Gl Earl Cornwallis<sup>15</sup>—Major Gl<sup>s</sup> Leslie<sup>16</sup> Huynes & Korpeth—Brigadier Gl Peterson<sup>17</sup> Lt Col<sup>l</sup> Webster<sup>18</sup>—Lt Col<sup>l</sup> Tarleton,<sup>19</sup> Major

<sup>14</sup> Lord George Germain, 1716-85, secretary of state for the colonies, 1775-82. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 431; *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>15</sup> Charles, 1738-1805, who succeeded as second Earl Cornwallis in 1762, had a distinguished career in the Seven Years' War and was promoted to major-general in 1775. He opposed the British measures which caused the American Revolution but he served the British with high military command under Howe and later Clinton throughout the war. In 1778 he was placed second in command to Clinton. After the fall of Charleston in 1780, Clinton left Cornwallis in command in the South. Though he failed to conquer the South and was forced to surrender at Yorktown, he was not blamed by the British government. Germain had greater confidence in Cornwallis than in Clinton; and Cornwallis' conduct of the Southern Campaign provoked an historic controversy with Clinton. After the American Revolution, he served with distinction as governor-general and commander-in-chief of India and viceroy and commander-in-chief of Ireland. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>16</sup> Major-General Alexander Leslie, 1731-1794, participated in the New York and New Jersey campaigns, 1776-1777. He took possession of Charleston at its surrender in May, 1780, returning later to New York. In October Clinton placed him in command of an expedition which operated for a brief time in eastern Virginia and then sailed for Charleston and marched inland to reinforce Cornwallis. He commanded the British right wing (71st British regiment and the Hessian regiment of Bose) at Guilford Court House. After Cornwallis arrived in Virginia he sent Leslie to Portsmouth in May, 1781. Later he went to New York but in the fall of 1781 he assumed command of Charleston, S. C., where he remained until its evacuation in December, 1782. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 487, II, 108, 318, 442; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783*, 492, 670-1; Tarleton, *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781*, 22, 43, 360.

<sup>17</sup> In Clinton's letter of May 13, 1780 to Germain the names are Kosborth and Patterson. Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781*, 43.

<sup>18</sup> James Webster, 1743-81, appointed major of the 33rd regiment in 1771, and lieutenant-colonel in 1774. He was active in operations in New Jersey in 1777 and at Verplank's Point in 1779. He distinguished himself with Cornwallis' army in the South. He was mortally wounded in the battle of Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 463.

<sup>19</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton, 1754-1833, began his service in America at the outbreak of the war, and raised and commanded a famous cavalry corps called the British Legion. He conducted his corps to Charleston with Clinton late in 1779 and served under Cornwallis until the end of the southern campaign. He became colonel in 1790, major-general in 1794, lieutenant-general in 1801, and general in 1812. He was a member of Parliament in 1790 and was made a Baronet in 1818. He was the author of *History of the Campaigns of 1780-1781*, published in 1787. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 459.



Ferguson<sup>20</sup>—& Major Moncrieffe<sup>21</sup> His Majesty's particular Satisfaction in their conduct, the Merit of ye latter officer was highly distinguished in the defence & preservation of Savannah it has too been equally conspicuous in the attack & reduction of Charles Town.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 5<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Croton, Creeon*

C. Sign, *Clermont*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> D' Turks

*Detail as usual*

British Cap<sup>tn</sup>, B<sup>h</sup> & H<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill. British y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Y<sup>e</sup> Abattis, H<sup>ns</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Cutters.

*British orders*

57<sup>th</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup>, 80<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill, 57 y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Abattis Cutters.

*Detail for Cox Hill Tomorrow*

	S-S-C-D- P	
G <sup>ds</sup>		5
57 <sup>th</sup>	1-1-0	10.
80	1	5
	<hr/>	
	1-1-1-0-	20

to relieve at 6 oClock in y<sup>e</sup> Morn ..... & Parade at y<sup>e</sup> Main Barrier-

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> NEW YORK, 4<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

*Orders*

Promotions by His Serene High<sup>s</sup> the Landgrave of Hesse, in y<sup>e</sup> Auxiliary Corps Serving in America—under y<sup>e</sup> Comm<sup>d</sup> of L<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Baron De Knyphausen. Major G<sup>l</sup> de Knoblock here on his Passage from Germany is app<sup>d</sup> to the Command of y<sup>e</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> lite Wissenbach[illegible] Knoblock,<sup>22</sup> Coll De Gesen from y<sup>e</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> of Donop to be Major G<sup>l</sup> & Commander of the Reg<sup>t</sup> Prince Charles-<sup>23</sup>, Cap<sup>tn</sup> De Ende from the Reg<sup>t</sup> D' Seitz to be Major in the Reg<sup>t</sup> of Knoblock. L<sup>t</sup> Marquard A D C to his Ex<sup>cy</sup> L<sup>t</sup> G<sup>l</sup> Knyphausen is appointed to the Rank of Cap<sup>tn</sup>

Mem<sup>m</sup> Lost 4 Letters between Gash[?] & Morris House—2 addressed to L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> D' Turk one to Major Wildenburgh—to Cap<sup>t</sup> Werner<sup>24</sup> they were in a Piece of Blue Cloth—whoever has found is desired to bring Y<sup>e</sup> Same to Morris House.

<sup>20</sup> Patrick Ferguson came to America in 1777, distinguished himself at the siege of Charleston in 1780, and was appointed major of the 71st regiment. He led the left wing of Cornwallis' army into western North Carolina in the fall of 1780, and was killed at King's Mountain, October 7, 1780. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 429.

<sup>21</sup> James Moncrieff distinguished himself at the siege of Savannah, for which he received the commission of lieutenant-colonel in September, 1780. He was killed in a sally made by the French from Dunkirk in 1793. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 446.

<sup>22</sup> Knoblauch. E. J. Lowell, *op. cit.*, 297.

<sup>23</sup> The Hessian Regiment Prinz Carl. E. J. Lowell, *op. cit.*, 297.

<sup>24</sup> Probably S. W. Werner of the Hessian artillery. H. B. Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution*, 370.



H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 6<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1780Paroles, *Salisbury, Salsburg*C Sign, *Seville*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow Major Wildenburg. British the Cap<sup>tn</sup>, B<sup>h</sup> and Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> each to Laurel Hill. British y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Abbatis Cutters, H<sup>ns</sup> to the Fascine Cutters. Detail as Usual.

*British Orders*

The Detail for Cox Hill to be continued till further Orders—as fixed Yesterday 80<sup>th</sup> R<sup>t</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> for this duty tomorrow. G<sup>ds</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> Laurel Hill, 57 Y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup>. 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Fascine Cutters—

Mem<sup>m</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Late Major Panly Ass<sup>t</sup> Eng<sup>r</sup> will be buried this evening 1/2 past five OClock Near Fort Knyphausen<sup>25</sup>

Stolen on the Night of the 4<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> or on y<sup>e</sup> Morn<sup>g</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> out of the Hut of John Mearns Near Fort Knyphausen a Brown Hair Trunk containing a Quantity of Money, Three Silk Gowns—one a Light Blue one Striped Sarrenet, with a Brocaded Flower & the other a Dark Blue Raised Letters Two Manchester Striped Gownds A Silver Table Spoon

C

with a Bird & olive—on the back Marked I.E Two pair of Shirts Marked with Blue Silk H:S Some Linnen, & Several accounts of no use, but to the S<sup>d</sup> John Mearns—whoever will detect the Persons disposing of any of the above articles or Will give information of Y<sup>e</sup> Thief, Will be handsomely rewarded— The Comm<sup>g</sup> off<sup>rs</sup> will be pleased to order the Strictest enquiry to be made in their Respective Corps—All the Huts Tents—Bedding—Haversacks & Knapsacks to be Searched in order if possible to bring the offenders to justice

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 7<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780Paroles, *Wexford, Warsaw*C Sign, *Wilton*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Gordon. Hess<sup>ns</sup> the Cap<sup>tn</sup>, Brit<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> A Sub<sup>n</sup> each to Laurel Hill. British the Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Fascine, Hess<sup>ns</sup> to the Abbatis Cutters.

*British Orders*

80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill & y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill. 57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, Y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Cutters. Detail as usual.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> NEW YORK, 6<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780*Orders*

A Packett will Sail for England in a few Days.

The Commander in Chief has been pleased to Make the following Promotions

38<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, Surgeons Mate—Mitchell to be Surgeon Vice Garce deceased

<sup>25</sup> Fort Washington was captured by the British in 1776 and was renamed Fort Knyphausen in recognition of the bravery of the Hessians. E. J. Lowell, *op. cit.*, 79-83.



42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, Ens<sup>n</sup> Ritchie from 44 Reg<sup>t</sup> to be L<sup>t</sup> Vice Rollo who Retires 6<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

47<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, Cap<sup>tn</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Featherstone from 21<sup>st</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> Vice Craige promoted—22<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1777.

57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, L<sup>t</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Balfour to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> Vice Ankettle who Retires 6<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>tr</sup> 1780

60/ 3 Batt<sup>n</sup> / James M'Kenzie Gent to be Ens<sup>n</sup> Vice Cransaux promoted 21<sup>st</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1779

71<sup>st</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, Vol<sup>r</sup> Cameron to be Ens<sup>n</sup> Vice M<sup>c</sup>Gugger Killed—25<sup>th</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 1780. Alex<sup>r</sup> Ortiltree Gent to be Q<sup>r</sup> Master vice Oglivie decd 18<sup>th</sup> do.

76 Reg<sup>t</sup>, L<sup>t</sup> David Barkley to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> by purchase Vice M<sup>c</sup>Donald who retires- Ens<sup>n</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Wemyss, to be L<sup>t</sup> Vice Barkley Promoted—do.

84<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup>, L<sup>t</sup> Lundin to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Vice M<sup>c</sup>Lean deceased—11<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 79, Ens<sup>n</sup> Jas: Hawkins to be L<sup>t</sup> Vice Lundin Promoted—do. Vol<sup>r</sup> Arch<sup>d</sup> Campbell to be Ens<sup>n</sup> Vice Hawkins prom<sup>d</sup>—do. Robert Robertson Gent, to be Ens<sup>n</sup> by purchase vice M<sup>c</sup>Donald Promoted—20<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1779.

Gen<sup>l</sup> Hospital, Doctor Mellet to act as Inspector of Reg<sup>l</sup> Infirmaries till further orders. Hospital Mate J: Wilson to be Apothecary—do. M<sup>r</sup> Chris<sup>r</sup> Carter is appointed an extra-mate Vice Blunt deceased.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 8<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Stafford, Strasburg*

C Sign, *Sheilitz*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow Major Cutzleben. British Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> Laurel Hill, Brit<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub each. British the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Y<sup>e</sup> Abattis, Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Cutters. Detail as usual.

*British Orders*

G<sup>ds</sup> Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup>. 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Abattis Cutters. 57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill tomorrow. Detail as usual.

Mem<sup>m</sup> The Mail for Europe will be closed tomorrow.

MORRIS HOUSE 9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Morpeth, Minden*

C Sign, *Moravia*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Schutz. Hess<sup>ns</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup>, B<sup>h</sup> & H<sup>ns</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> each to Laurel Hill. British y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine, Hess<sup>ns</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Abattis Cutters.

*British Orders*

80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill, 57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Party, 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to Laurel Hill.

N B If L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Schutz continues Ill—L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Norton will be Field officer for the Lines tomorrow—



H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> NEW YORK, 8<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 1780

List of Promotions R<sup>d</sup> from the War office—George S Jens, Gent to be Ens<sup>n</sup> in one of the Add<sup>l</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup>'s vice Creevaft who retires 12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1780. Cap<sup>tn</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Murray of y<sup>e</sup> 48<sup>th</sup> Foot to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> Vice Connor who retires- 26 Feb<sup>y</sup> 1780. W<sup>m</sup> Edwards (Clerk) to be Chaplain Vice Jno Edwards- 6<sup>th</sup> March. Ens<sup>n</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Allen to be L<sup>t</sup> in one of the Add<sup>l</sup> Companies Vice Shrewbridge made Cap<sup>tn</sup> in 97<sup>th</sup> foot.

17 Reg<sup>t</sup>. Robert Jackson Gent. to be Ens<sup>n</sup> Vice W<sup>ms</sup> promoted (B C) 10<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 78

21<sup>st</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>. Cap<sup>tn</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Hamilton Lindsay of 72<sup>d</sup> foot to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> vice Taylor who retires- 19<sup>th</sup> May 80

22<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>. Donald McDonald to be Ens<sup>n</sup> vice Phillips promoted in 70<sup>th</sup> Foot, 14 Oct<sup>r</sup> 78

42 Reg<sup>t</sup>. James West Gent late a L<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> 79<sup>th</sup> foot to be L<sup>t</sup> vice Spince Made L<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> 95 foot 19 May 80. L<sup>t</sup> Jno Havies from half pay in y<sup>e</sup> late 122<sup>d</sup> foot to be L<sup>t</sup> vice West who exchanges. Hon<sup>l</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Geo. Fraser of 88 foot to be L<sup>t</sup> vice Havies who goes into the 88 foot- 31 May.

43 Reg<sup>t</sup>. James Fenton Gent to be Ens<sup>n</sup> Vice (B:C)

57 Reg<sup>t</sup>. Arthur Weldron Gent to be Ens<sup>n</sup> Vice Walton promoted (B C) 16 May 79

60 Reg<sup>t</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup>. Cap<sup>tn</sup> Jno Lloyd of 46 foot to be Major Vice Van Braam who retires- 22<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 79

63 Reg<sup>t</sup>. Ens<sup>n</sup> Joseph Cope to be L<sup>t</sup> in one of the Additional Companies Vice Stret made Cap<sup>tn</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> 88<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> March

64 Reg<sup>t</sup>. Geo: W<sup>m</sup> Barr Gent to be Ens<sup>n</sup> in one of the Add<sup>l</sup> Companies vice Spread promoted in 93<sup>d</sup> foot- 26 May 80

70 Reg<sup>t</sup>. Tho<sup>s</sup> Lucas Weeler Gent to be Ens<sup>n</sup> Vice Barrett promoted 23<sup>d</sup> foot. B: C.

71<sup>st</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>. L<sup>t</sup> Charles Menzies of 35<sup>th</sup> foot to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> of one of the add<sup>l</sup> Companies Vice Colin McKenzie made 92<sup>d</sup> foot 24 May 80

17 Reg<sup>t</sup> foot. Rich<sup>d</sup> Storin Gent to be Ens<sup>n</sup> in one of the Add<sup>l</sup> Companies vice Mosely who Retires- 16 June 80. R<sup>d</sup> Lloyd<sup>d</sup> Clerke to be Chaplain vice Rudd- who retires, Do. L<sup>t</sup> John Noder to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> of one of y<sup>e</sup> Add<sup>l</sup> Companies Vice McPherson who retires 16 June 80.

43 Reg<sup>t</sup>. W<sup>m</sup> East Gent to be Ens<sup>n</sup> vice Gordon Promoted 16 foot (B C). 6<sup>th</sup> N<sup>r</sup> 79

71<sup>st</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup>. Edw<sup>d</sup> Fraser Gent to be Ens<sup>n</sup> vice Gordon Promoted 16 foot (B C) 27<sup>th</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 78 Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Clarke to be Major Gen<sup>l</sup> in America only- 1<sup>st</sup> J<sup>y</sup> 1776

Coldstream Reg<sup>t</sup> G<sup>ds</sup>. Col<sup>l</sup> Henry Trelawney to be 1<sup>st</sup> Major vice Clarke made Col<sup>l</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>- 5 May 1780. L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Earl Delaware to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> of a Comp<sup>y</sup> vice Trelawney, Do. Cap<sup>tn</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Lovelace to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Vice Delaware. En<sup>s</sup> George Ule to be L<sup>t</sup> Vice Lovelace. Col<sup>l</sup> Ant<sup>y</sup> George Martin to be 2<sup>d</sup> Major vice Charles Rainsford Made



Col<sup>l</sup> in A New Corps 7<sup>th</sup> June 80. Lt Col<sup>l</sup> R<sup>t</sup> Lovelace to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> of a Comp<sup>y</sup> Vice Martin—Do. Cap<sup>tn</sup> Jno Sutton to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> Lt Vice Lovelace Do. Ens<sup>n</sup> Jno Baker to be Lt Vice Sutton—Do.

His Majesty has been pleased to confer the Rank of Major, in the Army upon Lt Col<sup>l</sup> Simcoe<sup>26</sup> of the Queen Rangers—Lt Col<sup>l</sup> Tarlton of the Legion & Cap<sup>n</sup> Robertson of the Corps of Engineers.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 10<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Hexham, Hexter*

C Sign, *Hanan*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow Major Gordon. British Cap<sup>tn</sup>, B<sup>h</sup> & H<sup>n</sup> A Sub<sup>n</sup> each to Laurel Hill. Ab<sup>tis</sup>, British A Sub<sup>n</sup>; Fascine, Hess<sup>n</sup> A Sub<sup>n</sup>. Detail as usual.

*British Orders*

57<sup>th</sup> the Cap<sup>tn</sup> for Laurel Hill & the Sub<sup>n</sup>. 80<sup>th</sup> ye Sub<sup>n</sup> to ye Abattis Party, & the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 11<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Parole, *Exeter, Emsdorff*

C Sign, *Egra*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow Lt Col<sup>l</sup> Norton. British Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup>, B<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> ye Sub<sup>n</sup> each to Laurel Hill. Fascine Party, B<sup>h</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup>; Abattis, Hess<sup>ns</sup>.

*British Orders*

57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> give the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill. 80<sup>th</sup> ye Sub<sup>n</sup> to ye Fascine Party. G<sup>ds</sup> the Cap<sup>tn</sup> Laurel Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup>.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 12<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Nereby, Narra*

C Sign, *Naples*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow- Lt Col<sup>l</sup> Hall.<sup>27</sup> Hess<sup>ns</sup> Give ye Cap<sup>tn</sup> for Laurel Hill, B<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> each. British ye Sub<sup>n</sup> to ye Abattis Party, Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> to ye Fascine.

*British Orders*

57 the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill, 80 to ye Abattis Cutters. 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to Cox Hill<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> John Graves Simcoe, 1752-1806, commanded a company at the battle of Brandywine, raised and gallantly led a battalion called the Queen's Rangers, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1779, colonel in 1790, major-general in 1794, and lieutenant-general in 1801. He was governor of Upper Canada, 1791-94, and of St. Domingo, 1796-97. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 456.

<sup>27</sup> Killed at Cowan's Ford early in 1781. *Clinton-Cornwallis Correspondence*, I, 358.

<sup>28</sup> The handwriting changes at this point, but returns to its original form at the end of the "Allotment of Transports."



Allotment of Transports for the Brigade of Guards—Septem<sup>r</sup> 1780

<i>Names of Ships</i>	<i>N<sup>o</sup> of Tons</i>	<i>What Companies</i>	<i>General &amp; Regimental Staff</i>
Neptune	396	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup> Grenad <sup>rs</sup>	Mr Hopkins, Mate.
Margaret & Martha	350	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup> L <sup>t</sup> Infantry	
Peggy Fisher	250	4 <sup>th</sup> & 5 <sup>th</sup> Comp <sup>ys</sup>	Com <sup>dt</sup> 2 <sup>nd</sup> Batt <sup>n</sup> Adj <sup>t</sup> & Q <sup>r</sup> M <sup>r</sup> do—and M <sup>c</sup> Keir Mate
Rising Sun	256	1 <sup>st</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup> Comp <sup>ys</sup>	L <sup>t</sup> Col. Howard, N B Colins, Surgeon Rush, <sup>29</sup> & Clerk of y <sup>e</sup> Br <sup>e</sup>
Woodland	230	2 <sup>nd</sup> & 6 <sup>th</sup> d <sup>o</sup>	Com <sup>d</sup> 1 <sup>st</sup> Batt <sup>n</sup> Adj <sup>t</sup> Q <sup>r</sup> Mast <sup>r</sup> Q <sup>r</sup> M <sup>r</sup> Serj <sup>t</sup> Serj <sup>t</sup> Major & M <sup>r</sup> Gordon Mate

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 13<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>Paroles, *Lemerick, Lisle*C Sign, *Lubeck*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow Major Maxwell. British Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> Laurel Hill, B<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> A Sub<sup>n</sup> each. Hess<sup>ns</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Abattis Party, British to y<sup>e</sup> Facine.

*British Orders*

G<sup>ds</sup> the Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> & the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill, 57<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Fascine Party.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> NEW YORK, 12<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780.

The Corps for embarkation, are to take with them their Camp Equipage; but to leave an officer at N: Y: with their heaviest Baggage convalescents, & other incumbrances. Four Women Pr 50 Men May embark. Each Field off<sup>r</sup> Adj<sup>t</sup> & Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> will be allowed to take one Horse which can only be embarked in y<sup>e</sup> Transports, Forage will be Issued for a proper time on application to y<sup>e</sup> Commiss<sup>y</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>—Horses of off<sup>rs</sup> intitled to keep & which are not embarked, will be Supplied with Forage in y<sup>e</sup> Absence, on Draft of the off<sup>rs</sup> of the Corps who remain behind; but it is expected that none will be thus for'ged which are not at this day in y<sup>e</sup> Possession of y<sup>e</sup> off<sup>rs</sup> alluded to

The Distribution of Corps in in y<sup>e</sup> Transports & the N<sup>o</sup> of Waggon to be taken by each to be known at the Adj<sup>t</sup> G<sup>ls</sup> office.

The Guns & Artillery Detachments attached to Corps will embark with their Corps All off<sup>rs</sup> of Absent Corps, are desired to give in their Names

<sup>29</sup> John Rush, who was later praised by Cornwallis "as a man highly worthy of a mark of favour" for his "very superior merit" and "his unwearied and skilful attention to their [the guards'] numerous sick and wounded." *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 80, 455.



at the Adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>ls</sup> office- Specifying their Places of abode & the Duties they are upon L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Watson<sup>30</sup> of the Foot G<sup>ds</sup> is appointed to the Command of the Provincial L<sup>t</sup> Infantry- The Detachment of the 17<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> will put themselves under the Command of L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Watson untill further orders- Major Barkley of the Loyal Americans is appointed Major of y<sup>e</sup> Provinc<sup>l</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Infantry. Hospital Mate Thos Campbell is to do Duty in y<sup>e</sup> above Corps

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 14 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Camden, Cornwallis*

C Sign, *Mantua*

Field Officer for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Hall. Hess<sup>ns</sup> Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> for Laurel Hill—B<sup>h</sup> and Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> each. British a Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Abattis Party, Hess<sup>ns</sup> to the Fascine Party.

*British Orders*

57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill. 80<sup>th</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill- & the Abattis Party.

*Brigade orders G<sup>ds</sup>*

For the G<sup>l</sup> Court Martial tomorrow- Cap<sup>tns</sup> Horneck Stanton & Maynard<sup>31</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Schutz being Sick- Major Gordon of the 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> will be for the G<sup>l</sup> Court M<sup>l</sup> tomorrow.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS, 14<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup><sup>32</sup>

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 15<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Ludlow, Lingen*

C Sign, *Florence*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Dundass. British Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> for Laurel Hill- B<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> A Sub<sup>n</sup> each. British a Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Fascine Party, Hess<sup>ns</sup> to the Abattis. 80 Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill & the Fascine Party.

NEW YORK, 14 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

His Excellency the Com<sup>r</sup> in Chief has appointed L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Birch of the 17<sup>th</sup> Dragoons to be Command<sup>t</sup> of New York with the Rank of Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Schutz being Sick, Major Gordon of the 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> will be for the G<sup>l</sup> Court Martial tomorrow

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 16<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Gosport, Glogau*

C Sign, *Buda*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow Major Brownlow. British give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill, B<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> each. British y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Abbattis, H<sup>ns</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Facine Party.

<sup>30</sup> John Watson Tadwell Watson, who entered the Foot Guards in 1767 and was appointed lieutenant-colonel, November 20, 1778. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 463.

<sup>31</sup> Captain William Maynard of the Guards was mortally wounded at Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 415, II, 445.

<sup>32</sup> Here follow three and a half blank pages in the manuscript.



*British orders*

57 Reg<sup>t</sup> Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> Laurel Hill, 80 Reg<sup>t</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup>. 57 Reg<sup>t</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> to the Fascine Party.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 17<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Parole, *Mansfield, Merburg*

C Sign, *Goa*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Pennington. Laurel Hill, Hess<sup>n</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> B<sup>h</sup> & H<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> each. Fascine/British Sub<sup>n</sup>; Abattis, Hess<sup>ns</sup>.

*British orders*

80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Laurel Hill. 57<sup>th</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill- & the Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Fascine Party.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 18<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>

Paroles, *Baldock, Bareith*

C Sign, *Manilla*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> D'Turks. British Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill, B<sup>h</sup> & Hess<sup>ns</sup> a Sub<sup>n</sup> each. British y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Abattis Party, Hess<sup>ns</sup> to the Fascine.

*British orders*

G<sup>ds</sup> Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup>. 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> The Sub<sup>n</sup> to the Abattis Party & the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill.

After orders—The 57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> is to do Duty with the 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> for the future in Red<sup>s</sup> &c &c-

*Detail for this Duty Tomorrow*

	C-S-S-C-D- P
57	1-1-1-1-1- 20
80	1-3 50
	<hr/>
Total	1-2-4-1-1- 70

The off<sup>r</sup> with 1<sup>st</sup> & 20 Men from the proportion furn<sup>d</sup> by the 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to Mount in the Evening at the Usual Hour.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 19<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780

Paroles, *Axminister, Anhalt*

C Sign, *Barbadoes*

Field officer for the Lines tomorrow Major Weldenburg. Hess<sup>ns</sup> take R<sup>t</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 8- tomorrow. British y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> to Laurel Hill, B<sup>h</sup> & H<sup>ns</sup> Y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> each. B<sup>h</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Fascine, H<sup>ns</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Abattis Party.

*British orders*

80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> for the W: P: Laurel Hill- & the Sub<sup>n</sup> for that duty. 57 the Sub<sup>n</sup> for the Fascine Party, 80<sup>th</sup> for Cox Hill.



H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 20<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780Paroles, *Beauman, Bissac*C Sign, *Sligo*Field officer for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Lovelace.*British orders*

The 57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> being ordered to do Duty in Red<sup>t</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 8 with the 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> in Detachment, the 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> in order to Make Y<sup>e</sup> Proportion of Public Duty equal will take the Provost Guard till further orders. Detail for this

S-C-P

1-1-9

British take y<sup>e</sup> Duty of N<sup>o</sup> 8 tomorrow, 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> & two Sub<sup>ns</sup>. 57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> to the Working Party. The Guards will Give y<sup>e</sup> Proportion of 50 P. to the Working Party; 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> 34; & 57, 20. Total P, 74.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, Sep<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> 1780

Paroles,

C Sign,

Field offic<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Schutz. Hess<sup>ns</sup> take N<sup>o</sup> 8 tomorrow. Working Parties as before ordered.

*British orders*

80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill tomorrow, 57 Y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Working Party.

*Public Duties*

	P
G <sup>ds</sup> P : Charles R <sup>t</sup> P : C-	30
Fort Tryon	16
Main Barrier	19
P <sup>t</sup> North River	4
Cox Hill	7
	—
Strong, 700	70
57 Reg <sup>t</sup> R <sup>t</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 8	10
Hay & Wood Magazine	9
Harlem	3
Cox Hill	6
	—
Strong, 397	28
80 <sup>th</sup> Reg <sup>t</sup> R <sup>t</sup> N <sup>o</sup> 8	25
Provost	10
Cox Hill	7
P : H : Creek	7
	—
Strong, 490	49



MORRIS HOUSE, Sep<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1780Paroles, *England, Brunswick*C Sign, *Mecklenburg*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow Major Kutzleben. British take the Duty of N<sup>o</sup> 8 R<sup>t</sup> tomorrow, other Duties as usual.

*British Orders*

57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tn</sup> & y<sup>e</sup> 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> the two Sub<sup>n</sup> for N<sup>o</sup> 8 R<sup>t</sup> tomorrow. 57<sup>th</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> for Cox Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> Working Party.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 23<sup>d</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780Paroles, *Liverpool, Leipzig*C. Sign, *Potsdam*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Stuart. Hess<sup>ns</sup> take the Duty of N<sup>o</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> Redoubt tomorrow; Working Party as usual.

*British Orders*

The 57 Reg<sup>t</sup> Give y<sup>e</sup> Sub<sup>n</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> Working Party, 80<sup>th</sup> for Cox Hill. On Thursday the 57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> for N<sup>o</sup> 8, the 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> will furnish the Reinforcement—and on Thursday the 80<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Give the Cap<sup>tn</sup> for that Duty, the 57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> will Send Y<sup>e</sup> Reinforcement.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 24<sup>th</sup> Sep. 1780Paroles, *Cambridge, Charlestown*C Sign, *Creean*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow Major Maxwell. The British take the Duty of N<sup>o</sup> 8 R<sup>t</sup> tomorrow. It is requested that No person whatever may be admitted within the out Post of the Army—without being able to give a very Satisfactory acc<sup>t</sup> of themselves..

*British Orders*

57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Gives the Cap<sup>tn</sup> & the 90<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> the two Sub<sup>ns</sup> for N<sup>o</sup> 8 R<sup>t</sup> tomorrow. 57<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill, 80<sup>th</sup> the Working Party.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> MORRIS HOUSE, 25<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780Paroles, *Harrowgate, Hildesheim*C Sign, *Milan*

Field off<sup>r</sup> for the Lines tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Dundas. Hess<sup>ns</sup> take Y<sup>e</sup> Duty of N<sup>o</sup> 8 R<sup>t</sup> tomorrow.

*British Orders*

80 Reg<sup>t</sup> the Sub<sup>n</sup> to Cox Hill & to y<sup>e</sup> Working Party. The Brigade of Guards will not March till further orders.

Oct<sup>o</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1780

The Brigade of Guards will March & Embark agreeable to former orders tomorrow orders.



H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> N YORK, 6th Oct<sup>o</sup> 1780

All orders which have been Given by the Com<sup>r</sup> in Chief Respecting y<sup>e</sup> Provincial Recruiting are to considered in full force. The troops & Detachments embarked under the Command of Major G<sup>l</sup> Leslie will send to y<sup>e</sup> Slaughter House Brooklyn tomorrow Morning to receive a proportion of Sheep.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> NEW YORK, 7<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>o</sup> 1780

The Commander in Chief has been pleased to order 165 Days Forage Money to be Issued to the Troops Absolutely embarked on the present expedition. Return &c for this Bounty to be immediately given in to the Q<sup>r</sup> Master Gen<sup>ls</sup> office.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> NEW YORK, Oct<sup>o</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1780

His excellency the Com<sup>r</sup> in Chief has been pleased to app<sup>t</sup> Benedict Arnold<sup>33</sup> Esq<sup>r</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> of a Reg<sup>t</sup> with the Rank of Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780. The Commander in Chief does with infinite regret inform the Army of the Death of the Adjut<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Major Andrée. The unfortunate fate of this off<sup>r</sup> calls upon y<sup>e</sup> Comm<sup>r</sup> in Chief to declare his opinion, that he ever considered Major Andrée as a Gentleman as well as as in the line of his Military Profession of the highest integrity & honor, & uncapable of Any base Action & unworthy conduct. Major Andrée Death is very Severely felt by y<sup>e</sup> Comm<sup>r</sup> in Chief—as it consequently will be by the Army & must prove a sad loss to his Country & to His Majesty's Service.

Brigade orders Rising Sun. The Rising Sun being Much Crowded on acct. of y<sup>e</sup> Artillery being on Board that Ship Sixteen Men are immediately to be Sent & divided between the *Peggy Fisher Woodland* & y<sup>e</sup> *Margaret & Martha* in Such proportion as they May be best accomodated. A Return to be immediately Given in by the Adjut<sup>ts</sup> of the different Batt<sup>ns</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Bar Board the Rising Sun of the N<sup>o</sup> of Births & Men on Board each Transport that a regular disposition May be Made agreeable to Such returns.

Rising Sun Morning Brigade orders, 9<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>o</sup> 1780. Agreeable to the State of the Transports given in Yesterday The following regulation will immediately take place in order to divide the Men on Board the different Ships agreeable to y<sup>e</sup> N<sup>o</sup> of Births & Tonnage.

<sup>33</sup> Benedict Arnold, 1740-1801, who had served with brilliance in the American army in Canada and in the Saratoga campaign, was so disgusted at his unjust treatment by Congress that he secured the command of West Point and bargained to give it up to the British for 10,000 guineas and a brigadier-general's commission. Arnold met Clinton's adjutant, Major John André, on September 21, 1780, handed over the plans of West Point, and gave André a pass to return to New York. André was captured and later executed as a spy. Arnold fled to the British and served in their campaigns in Virginia and Connecticut. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 406; *Dictionary of American Biography*.



<i>Ships Names</i>	<i>Births</i>	<i>N<sup>o</sup> of Men now on Board</i>	<i>Due Proportion to remain</i>	<i>to Sent away</i>	<i>Where to be receiv'd</i>
Neptune	50	253	274	—	21
Margaret & Martha	38	208	210	—	2
Peggy Fisher	28	138	175	—	37
Rising Sun	24	170	130	40	—
Woodland	24	150	130	20	—
	—	—	—	—	—
	164	919	919	60	60

The Adjut<sup>s</sup> will take it in Turn now, or whenever y<sup>e</sup> Situation will admit of it to Send or come on Board the Rising Sun at 5 oClock every evening for orders.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> N. Y., 9<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>o</sup> 1780

All orders comeing through Cap<sup>tn</sup> Lord Dalrymple are to be obeyed as from An Aid D'Camp-

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> N YORK, 10<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>o</sup>

The Comm<sup>r</sup> in Chief has been pleased to make y<sup>e</sup> following promotion: 23 Reg<sup>t</sup>, Cap<sup>tn</sup> Fred<sup>k</sup> Mackenzie to be Major Vice Meaan Decd- 9<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1780. 54 Reg<sup>t</sup>, Ens<sup>n</sup> Stuart Binbino to be L<sup>t</sup> Vice Dillon deceased 29<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780; Major DeLancy<sup>34</sup> Aid De Camp to the Comm<sup>r</sup> in Chief to act as Deputy Adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> till further orders.

#### HEAD QUARTERS NEW YORK, Oct<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1780

33 Reg<sup>t</sup>, Cap<sup>tn</sup> Lt Gore to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> Vice Malcolm Killed, 17<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1780. Cap<sup>tn</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Ingram from y<sup>e</sup> 70<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Vice Gore, Do. 70<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, L<sup>t</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Nicoll from 33<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to be Cap<sup>t</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Vice Ingram removed, do.

33<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, Ens<sup>n</sup> John W. Leller Collingham to be L<sup>t</sup> Vice Nicoll, Promoted, Do.

37 Reg<sup>t</sup>, Ens<sup>n</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Thompson to be L<sup>t</sup> by purchase Vice Cox Hill, Promoted, 17<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 80.

38 Reg<sup>t</sup>, L<sup>t</sup> Henry Pottinger to be Cap<sup>tn</sup> (from y<sup>e</sup> 37<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>) vice Wade who retires.

37 Reg<sup>t</sup>, Ens<sup>n</sup> Ferdinand A: F Beckwith from y<sup>e</sup> 33<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to be L<sup>t</sup> by purchase vice Pettinger who retires.

Mem<sup>m</sup>. The Reg<sup>l</sup> Waggon Horses on New York Island are only to receive 10<sup>lb</sup> of Hay P<sup>r</sup> Day for each Horse till further orders.

<sup>34</sup>Oliver DeLancey was appointed major in 1778, lieutenant-colonel in 1781, colonel in 1790, major-general in 1794, lieutenant-general in 1801, and general in 1812. He succeeded John Andre as adjutant general in 1781. On his return to England he undertook the arrangement of loyalist claims, was at the head of a commission to settle army accounts during the war, was a member of Parliament in 1796, and died in 1822. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 426.



*After Orders*

Col<sup>o</sup> De Bischausen of y<sup>e</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> De Bose is appointed to Act as B: Gen<sup>l</sup> till further orders.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup> NEW YORK, 13<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>o</sup>

The Corps embarked will immediately Settle their acc<sup>ts</sup> with the Gen<sup>l</sup> Hospital for Stoppages. The Com<sup>r</sup> in Chief is pleased to order a Blank Commission for an Ensign<sup>cy</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> 33<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> Vice Beckwith by purchase, 18 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1780. Cap<sup>tn</sup> Berdet late of the Landgrave Reg<sup>t</sup> is app<sup>d</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> Provincial Rank of Captain & is to be attached to the Corps of Provincial L<sup>t</sup> Infantry.

[*To Be Continued*]



## HISTORICAL NOTES

Edited by D. L. CORBITT.

The notes in this issue consist of a notice to the public saying that the title of *Encyclopedian Instructor and Farmer's Gazette* had been changed; an excerpt from a court record of Granville County which directed that a Negro slave be burned alive for murdering one William Bryant; a diploma of the Polemic Society issued to Joseph Blount Gregorie Roulhac; various election returns; an advertisement of a cock fight; a poetical description of a woman; and obituary notices.

### NEWSPAPER TITLE CHANGED<sup>1</sup>

To the Public.

THOUGH we must acknowledge the premature death of the *Encyclopedian Instructor and Farmer's Gazette*,<sup>2</sup> from a circumstance, which in its nature, could not be foreseen by human prudence; yet, we find ourselves greatly comforted from the doctrines of the *resurrection state*.

The general analogy of nature exhibiting innumerable manifestations of the divine power, suggests a number of strong and solid arguments in favour of that idea. Death or dissolution, in a philosophic sense, being nothing more than a change of type (matter being in its nature unperishable) we are encouraged to hope, and induced to believe in a state of re-existence, throughout the different orders of being; and that (pursuant to fixed laws) under a more exalted type, and occupying a still higher place in the scale of existence.

From a view of this glorious oeconomy, we entertain no doubt of the re-existence of the *Encyclopedian Instructor and Farmer's Gazette*, among the infinitude of beings, at least in the second general birth of nature. But from some circumstances of late occurrence, we have reason to believe that the period of its second stage of existence is not so far distant; when, in its resurrection state, it will put on the Angelic appearance, & under this new form, will be known by the name and title of the POST-ANGEL or UNIVERSAL ENTERTAINMENT;<sup>3</sup> in which the matter designated in the plan of the Old *Encyclopedian*

<sup>1</sup> *The Post-Angel or Universal Entertainment*, Sept. 10, 1800.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopedian Instructor and Farmer's Gazette*, a weekly newspaper, was established May 14, 1800, at Edenton, N. C., by its editor Robert Archibald. James Wills printed it. Brigham, C. C., *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, Part X, North Carolina, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> *The Post-Angel or Universal Entertainment*, a weekly newspaper and the successor of *Encyclopedian Instructor and Farmer's Gazette*, first appeared with that title, Sept. 3, 1800. Robert Archibald was editor and Joseph Beasley was printer. *Ibid.*, p. 294. *The Post-Angel or Universal Entertainment* was changed to *The Edenton Gazette*, Nov. 12, 1800, *Ibid.*, pp. 293, 294.



*Instructor*, a copy of which is here annexed, will be executed, and enlarged by putting on the type or a new Athenian Mercury, in which questions will be resolved, which may be proposed by the ingenious of both sexes, from the different branches of science and from the oeconomy of human life. Remarkable providences, the lives and deaths of the most eminent men on account of late publications, &c. *will be* also noticed. Our paper will always be open to the admission of literary and political essays on either side of a question, written with temperance and liberality; and, divested of party prejudices and resentments, it shall be our leading object to conduct it in such a line, and upon such principles, as will be agreeable to all who do not wish a change in the government of the United States: and we are the more induced to pursue this tract, seeing we have received assistance towards the purchase of the press, from gentlemen differing very widely in their political sentiments, which will appear from their own signatures.

Lest we should offend some good and pious minds by assuming the title of Angel to our paper, we shall here remark for their satisfaction; That no characters spoken of in Scripture, are considered divine by any branch of the Christian Church, the *Father, Son and Holy Ghost* excepted: Angels, though of a nature superior to our own, and Immaculate, are represented in that book to be creatures, as we ourselves are, and ministering spirits sent forth to Minister for those who shall be heirs of eternal life.

We shall farther remark, that about the beginning of the last century, when the tide of religion run very high, public prints of the description now in hand, were called POST-ANGELS, without giving any offence whatever.

From these remarks, we hope no good mind will be wounded at the freedom we have taken; and more especially, when no eye will ever discover any thing in our paper (we hope) unworthy of its dignified title.

The size of our paper will be somewhat smaller, until we can procure a larger stone, which when done, it will be precisely of the same size of the *Encyclopedian Instructor*; the printing of a paper, in that circumstance, will be carried on with more facility. The paper in its full size being set very low, we expect no exceptions will be taken at a temporary, or more properly speaking, a momentary diminution.

To the public in general and to the district of Edenton in particular we look with some degree of confidence for support in an undertaking expensive in its nature, which may, if well conducted, be conducive to the general happiness; as interesting matter of a political nature, general information, morality and good manners will form its whole system of features.



We shall endeavour to make attonement for the interruption of our design, by such an attention to the business, as its importance requires, that the Post-Angel may be fraught with a dignity of matter, in some measure answerably to the expectations, we excite in the public mind.

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THE front page to be filled with instructions and observations, relative to the tillage of the American soil, viz. Gardening, Orchards, raising of Stock, cure of Diseases, both in Animals, and Vegetables, &c. &c.

With regard to the human species, rules of Health, Longevity, prevention of immature deaths, &c. &c.

Occasionally will be handed out the outlines of judicial Astrology, explaining the principles of the deceptions, which have been imposed upon the world, under the type of conjuration, jugglery, withcraft, &c. to the disgrace and reproach of human nature itself.

Some account may be expected of that infinite variety of custom, mode & manners, that have obtained among the different nations of the earth with the general principles from whence they proceeded. It will not be tho't improper, frequently to ornament the *Instructor*, with lively strokes of the moral law, drawn from the general principles of the law of nature, (not meddling with any particular system of religion, nor, glancing at any thing that might have the shadow of tendency, to invalidate the respectability of any persuasion whatever,) with a variety of other useful and miscellaneous matter, on a large 20 column sheet.

In fine, to reduce phylosophy and science in general! to practice,—to greatten the human mind, with sentiments leading to universal knowledge; to encourage the American genius, by given every valuable production a free passage, will go into the design. With regard to the political features of our paper, it is contemplated that an accurate and just statement of facts will form its sistem of politics, without falling in with any party whatever.

From the resources that will be established, and the literary correspondence that will be formed and constituted, it is expected, Subscribers will consider it their paper, to which an annual index will be added, pointing at number, column, &c.

Scurrillity, glancing at character, and ever fulsome stuff, with which most of our public prints are frequently crouded, are not to be admitted.

No production to find a passage, but that which comes forward, with the gentility and liberality of the gentlemen, and man of sense.

The 2d, 3d and 4th pages for news, foreign and domestic, acts of our General Assembly, advertisements, &c.



We give this notification, in order to learn, whether the scheme may meet with the public approbation. It if does, gentlemen will signify their approbation by becoming Subscribers to it, pursuant to the proposals.

### CONDITIONS.

One dollar and a half paid in advance, every six months so long as the Subscribers may please to continue— . . . [illegible] . . . upon the payment of the 2d 50.

*Edenton, August 9th, 1800.*

ROBERT ARCHIBALD.

### NEGRO BURNED FOR MURDER<sup>4</sup>

At a Court Call'd and Held in Granville County at the Courthouse of the Said County for the trial of Certain Negros Slaves &c. on Thursday the 25st. day of October Anno. Dom. 1773—

A Negro man Slave the property of Joseph McDonald<sup>5</sup> of the aforesaid County. Named Sanders was brought to trial and it appearing to the Court from Evidence and Sircumstances that the said Negro Sanders was guilty of having Shot and Kill'd one William Bryant of the said County a few weeks before therefore the Court Order'd the Sheriff to burn the said Negro alive until he shall be dead and Consum'd on Saturday the 23d. Instant and also Valued the said Negro to be worth Eighty pounds Proclamation Money. 2/8 like money for this Copy.

Test

REUBEN SEARCY. C.C.

### A DIPLOMA OF THE POLEMIC SOCIETY<sup>6</sup>

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.  
TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN,

Be it known, That our well beloved Friend, Joseph B. Roulhac<sup>7</sup> of Martin County is a member of the Polemic Society,<sup>8</sup> established in

<sup>4</sup> Granville County Court Records, in North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph McDonald was allowed a claim of £80, by the General Assembly of 1774. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. IX, p. 953.

<sup>6</sup> This item was copied and sent in by Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton of the University of North Carolina. He located the diploma in the Roulhac-Ruffin-Hamilton Papers in the Library of the University of North Carolina.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Blount Gregorie Roulhac was born in 1795. His father was a lieutenant who came from France to aid in the Revolution. After the war he married Frances Gray of Bertie County, and settled in Martin County. Joseph B. G. Roulhac, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1812. He was educated in law, but never practised, entering the mercantile business instead. He was a member of the constitutional convention from Bertie County in 1835. He was a merchant in Raleigh during the forties and fifties, dying suddenly in his office Jan. 23, 1856. It was thought he had apoplexy. *The Weekly Raleigh Register*, Jan. 30, 1856; *The North Carolina Manual 1913*, p. 867; Amis, Moses N., *Historical Raleigh With Sketches of Wake County and Its Important Towns*, p. 77; *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, p. 536.

<sup>8</sup> The Polemic Society was organized in 1807. It was a dramatic, literary and social organization, and incidentally worked for the interest and upbuilding of the Raleigh Academy. The comedy of "Love's Vows," and the farce "The Prisoner at Large," were presented at the closing of the academy in 1810. The proceeds were used for the benefit of the library which was established in 1808 by the students of the academy who were members of the society. Coon, Charles L., *North Carolina Schools and Academies 1790-1840. A Documentary History*, pp. 407, 413, 420.



Raleigh, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Seven for the promotion of Science, the cultivation of Amity, the investigation of Truth, and the emulation of whatever is Great, Wise, Virtuous, Patriotic, and Benevolent. We have been acquainted with the character of the said Joseph B. G. Roulhac and with cordiality grant him this Diploma, recommending him to the world, as a person of whose talents, morals and propriety of conduct, we have formed an exalted opinion, and whom we sincerely believe well qualified to become an useful and ornamental member of Society.

And be it further known, That so long as the said Joseph B. G. Roulhac continues to demean himself with his usual propriety, temperance, and the exercise of the other virtues, so long (but no longer) shall he be considered a member of the Polemic Society, and receive its derivable advantages: viz. the countenance and support of his brothers Polemic in every laudable and virtuous pursuit, the interchange of social and domestic enjoyments, and, in toto, the duties of heaven-born friendship.

We seriously recommend to our much esteemed Friend, Joseph B. G. Roulhac who is now about to launch on the inconstant ocean of life, to observe in his commerce with mankind this golden precept, "Do unto others as thou wouldst be done unto."

In Testimony whereof We have hereunto affixed our names, and the Seal of the Society, this Twenty-seventh day of May, one thousand eight hundred and Twelve.

Jno. H. Atkinson (Secretary)

Bryan Grimes  
Joseph Lloyd  
John Pearsall  
Lenas B. Jones  
John C. Gorham  
D. M. Yancey  
Blake Little

Thos. Hill President	
J. M. Dick Tresr.	
R. H. Hayes Librarian	
Spence Hall Monitor	
Willie P. Mangum	} Committee
Joseph Lane	
J. P. Lamb	
Stephen Miller	
John M. Dick	
Abram Max.	

(SEAL)



*ELECTION RETURNS*<sup>9</sup>

HALIFAX, March 6.

The following is the state of the poll, for a Member of the House of the Congress of the U. S. at the election in the fourth district of this state.

	<i>Mebane.</i> <sup>10</sup>	<i>Moore.</i> <sup>11</sup>	<i>Ramsay.</i> <sup>12</sup>
Chatham,	54	15	304
Orange,	688	298	1
Person,	15	376	
Randolph,	95	52	
	<hr/> 852	<hr/> 741	

Majority in favour of Mr. Mebane, 111.

*ELECTION RETURNS*<sup>13</sup>

HALIFAX, AUGUST 13.

On Thursday and Friday last the annual Elections were held in this state for members of the General Assembly,<sup>14</sup> and for members of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

\* \* \* \* \*

For Representative in Congress—	Halifax <sup>15</sup>	Northampton
Willis Alston, <sup>16</sup>	198	156
Thomas Blount, <sup>17</sup>	86	95
John M. Binford, <sup>18</sup>	23	340
William Kennedy, <sup>19</sup>	2	

Richard Dobbs Spaight,<sup>20</sup> Esq is elected a Representative in Congress for the tenth or Newbern division, in the room of Nathan Bryan,<sup>21</sup> Esq. deceased.

<sup>9</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, March 6, 1793.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Mebane of Orange County.

<sup>11</sup> Alexander D. Moore of Orange County.

<sup>12</sup> Ambrose Ramsay of Chatham County.

<sup>13</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Aug. 20, 1798.

<sup>14</sup> For a list of the persons elected to the General Assembly see *North Carolina Manual, 1913*. The list omitted at the conclusion of this sentence does not give the number of votes cast or the names of the defeated candidates.

<sup>15</sup> Halifax and Northampton were in the Ninth Congressional District which in addition to these two counties consisted of Edgecombe, Martin, Pitt and Beaufort counties. *Laws of North Carolina, 1792*, chapter XVII.

<sup>16</sup> Willis Alston of Halifax County.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Blount of Edgecombe County.

<sup>18</sup> John M. Binford of Northampton County.

<sup>19</sup> William Kennedy of Beaufort County.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Dobbs Spaight of Craven County.

<sup>21</sup> Nathan Bryan of Jones County who served one term and died while serving the second.



*ELECTION RETURNS*<sup>22</sup>HALIFAX, AUGUST 27.  
ELECTION FOR CONGRESS.<sup>23</sup>

	A. Henderson. <sup>24</sup>	M. Locke. <sup>25</sup>
Rowan	1348	99
Mecklenburg	692	39
Iredell	557	59

The returns from the other counties are not yet received.

Richard D. Spaight,<sup>26</sup> Esq. is elected for Newbern district.

Wm. B. Grove,<sup>27</sup> Nathaniel Macon<sup>28</sup> and Richard Stanford,<sup>29</sup> Esquires, are re-elected.

*ELECTION RETURNS*<sup>30</sup>HALIFAX, AUGUST 20.  
ELECTION FOR CONGRESS.

	Blount. <sup>31</sup>	Alston. <sup>32</sup>	Kennedy. <sup>33</sup>	Binford. <sup>34</sup>
Halifax	36	985	2	25
Northampton	96	156	0	340
Martin	32	348	132	1
Edgecombe	580	53	6	0
Pitt	159	10	483	4
Beaufort	304	1	890	0
	<hr/> 1207	<hr/> 1553	<hr/> 1010	<hr/> 370

In 1796, Blount had a majority of more than 1200 votes—At the present election, all the Candidates, except himself, avowed their determination to support the measures of our government, and were generally supported on that principle, so that we may fairly state the majority against him at upwards of 1700.—This happy change of public

<sup>22</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Sept. 3, 1798.

<sup>23</sup> These returns are from counties which were in the Second Congressional District. This was composed of Rowan, Mecklenburg, Cabarrus, Iredell, and Montgomery counties. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1792, chapter XVII.

<sup>24</sup> Archibald Henderson of Rowan County.

<sup>25</sup> Matthew Locke of Rowan County.

<sup>26</sup> See note 20 above.

<sup>27</sup> William Barry Grove of Cumberland County who represented the Cape Fear and Seventh Congressional Districts in Congress, 1791-93 and 1793-1803 respectively.

<sup>28</sup> Nathaniel Macon of Warren County who represented the Center, Fifth, and Sixth Congressional Districts and a member of the United States Senate, 1791-93, 1793-1803, 1803-15, 1815-1828, respectively.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Stanford was elected for the first time. He was from Person County.

<sup>30</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Aug. 27, 1798.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Blount of Edgecombe County.

<sup>32</sup> Willis Alston of Halifax County.

<sup>33</sup> William Kennedy of Beaufort County.

<sup>34</sup> John M. Binford of Northampton County.



opinion, so plainly shews, must be cause of joy and triumph to all true friends of our country throughout the union. Nothing has tended in a greater degree to rouse the public indignation, and to cause the people to express their real sentiments, than Blount's famous, or rather infamous, resolution for dissolving the British treaty. They evidently demonstrated that the base machinations of the detestable French Faction in Congress, are solely directed to distract the councils of our country, and to invite the aggressions of an unprincipled and merciless foe.—We have therefore the greater reason to reject, as the event has been as propitious as the intention was wicked and mischievous.

Judge STONE is elected for the district of Edenton.—From the abilities, integrity and patriotism of this gentleman, we presage the most solid advantages to our country.

In Newbern district the contest lay between two Federalists. No Jacobin had the effrontery to offer himself.

The independent, firm and virtuous GROVE, met with no opposition in Fayetteville district.—We join our voice to the common prayer of all true Federalists in the state, that he never may, while he has the inclination to serve, and his conduct, as heretofore, shall continue to merit the approbation and applause of his country.

From the other districts we have not yet heard—There is however great reason to expect a material change of men and principles; and we are bold to add, that if any of the old members are returned, it will only be on account of suitable federal characters not having offered. Several of them have been very lavish of their *medicant* letters, filled with mean and humble solicitations—Some have cried "*Peccavs*," and have promised a change of conduct if re-elected—but we entertain little hopes of their amendment, sensible that they would again return to their old leaders—"like the dog to his vomit, and the doe to her wallowing."

We however, with pleasure, embrace the idea, that the reproach and opprobrium thrown on the state—of its delegation [obsequiously] obeying the mandates, and being the passive tools of the demagogues of our sister of the Ancient Dominion—will effect[ively be] effaced; and that the state of North-Carolina [will hold] and maintain that rank in the Union, to which she is entitled by her population, by her riches, and by her virtues.

#### ELECTION RETURNS<sup>35</sup>

HALIFAX, September 3.

Extract from a gentleman in Salisbury district.

I send you a statement of the poll of the two western districts—It must give pleasure to all true friends of our country. I hope the eastern districts

<sup>35</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Sept. 10, 1798.



will be equally distinguished in their choice. It is high time the present members should know they do not speak the voice of their constituents, nor are any longer their choice.

## District No. I.

	Dickson. <sup>36</sup>	Holland. <sup>37</sup>
Lincoln county	1010	48
Rutherford	407	564
Buncombe	114	368
Burke	257	316
Wilkes	310	409
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2094	1705

## District No. II.

	Henderson. <sup>38</sup>	Gaither. <sup>39</sup>	Lock <sup>40</sup>
Rowan	1348	0	99
Iredell	557	0	49
Mecklenburg	692	3	39
Cabarrus	196	228	15
Montgomery	336	196	29
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3131	416	231

Robert Williams<sup>41</sup> is re-elected for District No. 3.

*ELECTION RETURNS*<sup>42</sup>

## NORTH-CAROLINA.

GERMANTON, August 11, 1798.

AT the close of the poll of the Election for Members to represent the county of Stokes in the General Assembly of North-Carolina—the votes stood as follows:—

For the Senate.		For the Commons.	
William Hughlett	206	John Martin	596
Joseph Winston	194	Charles Banner	508
Matthew Brooks	134	John Bostick	414
Peter Harston	90	John Shoub	90

<sup>36</sup> Joseph Dickson of Lincoln County.

<sup>37</sup> James Holland of Rutherford County.

<sup>38</sup> Archibald Henderson of Rowan County.

<sup>39</sup> Burgess Gaither of Iredell County.

<sup>40</sup> Matthew Locke of Rowan County.

<sup>41</sup> Robert Williams of Rockingham County.

<sup>42</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Oct. 8, 1798.



After the close of the poll, Mr. Brooks made the following speech to the Electors:

Gentlemen and Fellow-Citizens,

The poll being now finished, I return my sincerest thanks to those disinterested and independent friends, who have so generously and steadily stood forth in my favour. The want of success, out of your power to command, has not in the least abated my zeal for your service. You cannot be unacquainted with the various circumstances which have contributed to it. My long absence from the county, was thro' accident and necessity, whilst the other candidates (except Mr. Winston) had been for a considerable time soliciting your interest. Some of their influence, assisted by private malice, has been exerted in the most inconsistent manner, and by means of the basest chicanery. But tho' disappointed, I am not the least dispirited—on the contrary, I reflect with pride and gratitude on the many instances of regard and affection I have received from the inhabitants of Stokes county. And now, Gentlemen, permit me to address you as friends to liberty, and freeholders of the county of Stokes—declaring my intention of appearing as a candidate at the next election to represent you in the Senate, and still hoping by your means to have the honour of being useful to you in the Legislature of North-Carolina.

A SPECTATOR.

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State of the Poll for a Member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, for Election district No 3.

	Williams. <sup>43</sup>	Martin. <sup>44</sup>
Surry	465	308
Stokes	357	599
Guilford	479	76
Rockingham	605	182
Caswell	805	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2711	1174

Mr. HODGE,

AS the time for electing a new Governor in this state is approaching, would it be amiss, Sir, if thro' the medium of your Journal we suggest to the Electors the propriety of being acquainted as well with the ecclesiastical as the political sentiments of the man they would advance to so important a trust. We view the Christian religion as the grand paladium of our unparalleled constitution, while its fatal declension has

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<sup>43</sup> Robert Williams of Rockingham County.

<sup>44</sup> Alexander Martin of Guilford County.



nearly wrought the ruin of one of the first nations of Europe—and by admitting to our executive departments, men unfriendly to our most holy religion, may we not deprecate consequences equally clamatious.

A CHRISTIAN.

Wake county, 18th Sept.

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COCK FIGHT<sup>45</sup>

The sportsmen of the neighbouring counties are informed, that on Monday next, the 8th instant, a main of 21 cocks will be fought in this town [Halifax], at which much sport is expected.

WOMAN<sup>46</sup>

WHAT IS WOMAN?

WOMAN'S a book of tiny size,  
 Suited to catch the coxcomb's eyes;  
 In silks and muslins neatly bound,  
 And sometimes richly gilt around.  
 But what is strange in readers sight,  
 This book oft' stands *unletter'd* quite!  
 The *frontispiece* is gayly drest.  
*Blank paper* fills up all the rest!!!

OBITUARIES PRIOR TO 1800

These obituary notices will be inserted from time to time covering the period prior to and including the year 1800. They will be taken from the North Carolina newspapers now on file in the offices of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

LUCY CRAFFORD AND JOHN TILLERY DEAD<sup>47</sup>

Departed this life, on the 6th inst. at Mr. Howell Edmonds, in Northampton, in the bloom of life. Miss LUCY CRAFFORD; a young lady much esteemed in life, and whose death is greatly regretted by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance.

In this town, on Thursday morning last, in the 44th year of his age, greatly regretted by all his acquaintance, Mr. JOHN TILLERY—few, indeed, can be said to have merited a better reputation—and his many virtues will ever render his memory dear to those with whom he was acquainted.

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<sup>45</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, May 1, 1797.

<sup>46</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Sept. 4, 1797.

<sup>47</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Dec. 22, 1794.



*WILLIAM MUIR DEAD*<sup>48</sup>

DIED.) On Friday night last, after a long and painful illness, Capt. WILLIAM MUIR, of this town [Halifax].

*CHARLES PASTEUR DEAD*<sup>49</sup>

DIED) On Sunday morning last, Dr. Charles Pasteur.

*THOMAS POLK DEAD*<sup>50</sup>

DIED) On the 26th ult. at his seat near Charlotte, the Honourable General THOMAS POLK.

*THOMAS FROHOCK AND SAMUEL PEETE DEAD*<sup>51</sup>

On the 13th inst. departed this life, THOMAS FROHOCK, Esq. of Salisbury. And on the 11th inst. unfeignedly regretted, Dr. SAMUEL PEETE, of this town [Halifax].

*PETER QUALLS AND WILLIAM REA DEAD*<sup>52</sup>

On Sunday last departed this life, PETER QUALLS, Esq. For several years he represented this county in the General Assembly of this state.

On the 8th ult. was drowned in attempting to cross a branch, at the time of a fresh, near Charlotte, Mr. WILLIAM REA, formerly of this town [Halifax].

*WILSON VICK AND WILLIAM TAYLOR DEAD*<sup>53</sup>

## HALIFAX, NOVEMBER 3.

DIED.) On the 24th ult. in Nash county, after a painful attack of the pleurisy, which he bore with christian patience and resignation, WILSON VICK.—He was of the Quaker profession, an ornament to religion, a blessing to his connexions, and anxious and ready to oblige all in his power—his death is therefore sensibly regretted, and may justly be deemed a public loss. In fact it may be truly said, that he was "*An Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile.*"

———Lately, in the piney woods of Pitt county, where he had resided for 40 years past with his youngest son, who is in the 63d year of his age, Mr. WILLIAM TAYLOR, aged 114 years. He was born either in Virginia or this state—enjoyed for many years past a perfect

<sup>48</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Dec. 29, 1794.

<sup>49</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Jan. 1, 1794.

<sup>50</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Feb. 19, 1794.

<sup>51</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, March 26, 1794.

<sup>52</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Feb. 5, 1794.

<sup>53</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Nov. 3, 1794.



state of health, and on the morning of his death had set off to walk two miles to get a pair of shoes, but was seized with a fit shortly after he left home which carried him off.

*RICHARD HALLETT DEAD*<sup>54</sup>

DIED.) On the 30th ult. at Fayetteville, after a short illness, Mr. RICHARD HALLETT, Merchant, formerly of New-York.

To say that his friends lament him—is useless—  
That all regret him—unnecessary—  
For that he merited every esteem—is certain—  
The tongue of *Slander* can't say less.  
Tho' *Justice* might say more.

*WILLIAM LOWTHER DEAD*<sup>55</sup>

DIED.) At Edenton, on the 24th ult. Capt. WILLIAM LOWTHER, for many years a merchant of eminence, and a highly respectable magistrate of this state. The next day, Mrs. LOWTHER, the long and constant partner of his conjugal affection, also departed this life.

*JOSEPH BLOUNT DEAD*<sup>56</sup>

At Edenton, on Monday last, JOSEPH BLOUNT, Esq. Clerk of the county court of Chowan.

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<sup>54</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Sept. 17, 1794.

<sup>55</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Oct. 1, 1794.

<sup>56</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Dec. 8, 1794.



## BOOK REVIEWS

**The State Highway System of North Carolina.** By Cecil Kenneth Brown.  
(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1931. Pp. x,  
260. \$2.50)

North Carolina has a highway system second to none in the United States. The history of this system is well worth telling and it has been well told by Dr. Cecil K. Brown. This is the second in a series of volumes on transportation in North Carolina by Dr. Brown, the first being *A State Movement in Railroad Building* published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1928.

"The present volume," to quote from the preface, "is an attempt to give the story of the state highway system of North Carolina with due regard to the conditions of the past out of which it grew. The first nine chapters are principally narrative in form, and trace the history of public roads in North Carolina from the early roads laid out and maintained by local authority a century or more ago down to the last bond issues for the state highway system in 1927. The remaining chapters are more analytical in character, being devoted to various phases of the state highway program as it was carried out between 1921 and 1929. In a sense they may be described as taking up the economics of highway construction with special reference to the state highway system of North Carolina."

It is well to have historical facts recorded by contemporaries. Yet this book is not confined to outlining the history of the highway movement in North Carolina. It is, as the author says, history, economics, and politics, all intertwined and inseparable. It makes interesting reading to those who have lived through the major part of the movement, and contains many things that will be news even to those who were most closely related to the highway program. A valuable feature of the book is that it tells who were closely affiliated with the movement and the part played by each person or organization. Especially interesting is the section that tells about the struggle that took place between the Citizens' Highway Association headed by Colonel Kirkpatrick and the North Carolina Good Roads Association headed by Colonel Pratt and Miss Berry, with Miss Berry supplying most of the fireworks from her camp. The writer believes that Dr. Brown has tried to be fair to all parties, although very



naturally he does not mention by name all who had a part in bringing North Carolina out of the mud.

The writer has only praise to offer for this volume. It tells the story from the beginning to 1928. It gives emphasis to events that justify emphasis, and little attention to details of little importance. The book is well proportioned. Historically it is accurate; in presentation it is easy to read; in giving honor where honor is due it is eminently fair; and in knitting together history, economics, and politics it is well-conceived and well-executed.

The 1931 session of the legislature wrote another grand chapter in the state highway building when it added to the state system some forty-five thousand miles of county highways. Again North Carolina sets the pace in the United States in state highways, as she has done before. However, this last chapter is not recorded in Dr. Brown's volume. It will make a valuable addition to the next edition. There is no evidence that Dr. Brown suspected that the state would undertake such an enormous state highway program, the greatest ever undertaken by any state. Nor could one have predicted a dozen years ago that North Carolina would have undertaken and accomplished the program that Dr. Brown records.

A decade is but a flyspeck, but within that decade North Carolina has undergone about the most remarkable transformation ever experienced by any state. At the center of this transformation stands the state highway system, "Grandly conceived and skillfully executed." Let us hope that the person who goes on from where Dr. Brown left off will be able to continue the same story of honesty and efficiency in state highway construction and maintenance that characterized the work of what we may now term The Old Highway Commission.

S. H. HOBBS, JR.

University of North Carolina.

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Slave-Trading in the Old South. By Frederic Bancroft. (Baltimore, J. H. Furst Company. 1931. p. 415.)

The vague generalities and apologetic euphemisms which have hitherto characterized discussions of the slave trade have now been superseded by this volume of unadorned facts. After two introductory chapters the author embarks upon a geographic survey of the



slave trade, beginning with its northermost point, the District of Columbia, and advancing southwestward. Smaller centers of activity receive their due share of attention along with consideration of the great markets of Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans. The author's exposition reveals slave trading as a complex business, highly organized, its ramifications penetrating to the most obscure districts, its agents ferreting out all possible prospects, and its profits participated in, openly or secretly, by a surprisingly large number of persons, ranging from the lowest to the highest ranks of society.

Dr. Bancroft explodes many widespread beliefs regarding his subject. He demonstrates that slave dealers were not always socially ostracized; a few were among the aristocrats, many were respectable and socially aspiring, and those who were condemned would have been unacceptable under any circumstances. The selling of children and division of families receive especial consideration. The South was devoted to the comforting illusion that families were seldom divided, and traders wishing to pose as humanitarian did not fail to benefit by maintaining that useful fiction, while in fact they showed little consideration for family ties.

Slave-rearing as a source of profit attains additional significance in the light of the author's thesis that it was the only means to wealth remaining after the virgin soil was exhausted. As opposition to slavery and slave trade increased, traders shunned more and more any appellation directly revealing their occupation; hence the number of traders has probably been seriously underestimated in the past. The author's examination of numerous directories reveals that the term "trader" was rather infrequent and "slave-dealer" rare; whereas "auctioneer," "broker," "commission merchant," and similar terms almost invariably meant that the person dealt in slaves along with other commodities.

Outstanding among the author's numerous sources of information is his extensive use of newspaper advertisements which provide a wide variety of information including names of traders, numbers of slaves bought and sold, and types, ages, and description.

The author's thoroughness cannot be impugned, but his attitude toward his evidence is less satisfactory. He has set out to find the worst about a bad business and attacks the task with an almost abo-



litionist ardor. He has found it to be quite as bad as he expected, nor is there cause to think that he has painted the picture too black, but the amazing thing is that he is horrified by what he has found. Familiarity with the facts has not dulled his sensitiveness to their awfulness with the result that the pages are frequented by parenthetical exclamations conveying the author's horror at the iniquity of the slave-owning and slave trading portion of the human race. The devious ways into which economic advantage will lead society are apparent on every page of Dr. Bancroft's book, but do not prevent his denunciation of the depraved slave trader, and the author's long moral finger pointing at the Sinful South implies a "holier than thou" attitude. The effect is annoying but does not in any way invalidate the permanent value of the book.

RUTH A. KETRING.

Duke University Library.

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*Soil: Its Influence on the History of the United States, with Special Reference to Migration and the Scientific Study of Local History.* By Archer Butler Hulbert. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. x, 227. \$2.50)

This book was written largely for the purpose of suggesting to local historians ways and means by which the products of their pens can be made a constructive and indispensable unit in the larger pattern of historical figuration. The author very properly disparages the prevailing type of county history which has been too much concerned with sustaining local pride in illustrious ancestors and too little concerned with the bearing of climatic, geological, and topographical influences on problems of selection and adaptation which confronted the original settlers. Dr. Hulbert is fertile in pointing out ways by which the local historian can identify early trails, watersheds, trading posts, ferries and forested and unforested areas. Among the materials available for the purpose are the original surveys of townships, the topographical sheets of the United States Geological Survey, and records in the archives of state historical societies. Data gathered from these and other original sources would, in Dr. Hulbert's judgment, be of inestimable value in clarifying early social movements.



After devoting sixty-seven pages to climatic influences, waterways, pathways, and soils, the author presents a series of somewhat detached pictures of the occupation of New England, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the Piedmont of the Atlantic Seaboard. This is followed by an interesting and well articulated account of the "Grand Advance" of the Scotch-Irish through the back-country of Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley, the Staunton and Blacksburg Districts to the headwaters of the Holston and Watagua rivers in Tennessee. From these river valleys the stream of migration is traced through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky. The last chapter deals with "Types of Soil Influence in the West." No attempt is made to treat the occupation of the Lower South, nor does the author concern himself with the westward advance of population by the way of the Ohio and Mohawk rivers.

In the vanguard of this great movement of back-country folk, substantial and venturesome settlers like Joist Hite and John Lewis in Virginia, and "long hunters" like Daniel Boone in Kentucky heralded the fertility of the lands to be exploited. Boone's ability for finding and recognizing fertile land is discounted. His failure to recognize the productivity of the blue grass region around Lexington, however, in no wise detracts from his fame as a pathfinder.

The author leans toward the belief that certain groups of emigrants were partial to certain types of soil. In the case of the Scotch-Irish, it is demonstrated that they brought over "an ancient aversion" for dry limestone lands, and consequently avoided the limestone lands of Pennsylvania. It would appear, however, that this "ancient aversion" was dispelled by the time the Scotch-Irish reached the Valley of Virginia. Dr. Hulbert carefully avoids being "possessed with the devil of one idea"; and recognizes, for example, that religious hostility played quite as important a part as did unfavorable physical environment in rendering the Scotch-Irish and Germans discontent with their lot in New England. Again, while emphasizing the preference of the Scotch-Irish and Germans in Pennsylvania for certain types of soil, he is not unmindful that Penn's liberal land policy and the absence of restrictions on the frontier made a telling appeal.



As an example of how the character of the terrain conditioned human economy, it is noted that the paucity of good land in New England led to exact surveys, good fences, and the practice of frugality. On the contrary, in Virginia, where the tillable land was abundant, an easy and even prodigal style of living was much in evidence. As the New England meadow made the New England town a product of environment, the wealth of tillable land in Virginia rendered the county, with its scattered homesteads, the inevitable unit of local government.

It is held with much show of argument that mountains were not a serious natural barrier to the westward movement of population. It is conceivable that students of the "Westward Movement" will be disposed to attach some reservation to this contention. It is, at least, an arguable proposition. The description of the "razor-back" hog, an animal which proved to be highly adaptable to frontier conditions, is very apt, but the reviewer hesitates to accept the statement that this animal, "shaped like a thin wedge . . . with long legs and thin flanks," would take on one hundred and fifty pounds of flesh in eight months. As a rule, the genuine "razor-back," regardless of age, weighed about one hundred pounds after three months of reënforced feeding with Indian corn.

A deal of this treatise is stimulative of further inquiry into many obscure and baffling problems associated with the action of natural forces and conditions on early social movements. Tantalizing shreds of evidence which may or may not point to fruitful fields of investigation are constantly presented to the reader. There are many leads, however, which the historian, local or otherwise, (who at the same time must be something of a geologist and climatologist) can well afford to follow. The book is indexed and illustrated, but suffers from a dearth of maps. On the whole, it is rather sketchy. Many uncharted areas are missing from a broad canvas.

ROSSER H. TAYLOR

Furman University



- Randolph of Roanoke. By Gerald W. Johnson. (New York: Minton, Balch and Co. 1929. pp. 278. \$3.50.)
- Daniel Webster. By Allan L. Benson. (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. 1929. pp. 402. \$5.00.)
- The Godlike Daniel. By Samuel Hopkins Adams. (New York: Sears Publishing Co. 1930. pp. 426. \$5.00.)
- Daniel Webster. By Claude Moore Fues. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1930. Two volumes. pp. x, 863. \$10.00.)

From the standpoint of what William James called "Ph.D-ism," Mr. Johnson's *Randolph of Roanoke* is no contribution to knowledge. That is to say, Mr. Johnson has dug up no new facts about John Randolph, or anybody else, not already available to the scholar. His sources, aside from a wide reading of American history, have been the lives of Randolph by Hugh Garland, Henry Adams, and William Cabell Bruce. Garland's book, a eulogistic, pro-Southern, pre-Civil War opus long out of print, Mr. Johnson has studied carefully, made due allowance for its bias, and found it of considerable value. Adams's book, brilliant but unfair, colored, it would seem, by a resentment of Randolph's attacks on the author's presidential ancestors, served him well as a stimulus, but was of little value as a source. But to Senator Bruce's two large volumes, to which he gives generous credit, he is indebted most of all.

But while Mr. Johnson has discovered no new documents, his book has ample excuse for being. This because of its freshness of interpretation and felicity of style. Stylistically, Mr. Johnson writes as well as Henry Adams; he is vigorous, vivacious, and urbane. An academic critic, I believe, has called his work "journalistic." This may or may not be true, depending on one's interpretation of the word. Certainly Mr. Johnson has done no spade work, but there was little need for his digging in a field which Bruce had apparently exhausted. Certainly, too, Mr. Johnson has the knack of handling his material so as to intrigue the reader. But so far as the soft impeachment of "journalistic" is concerned, *Randolph of Roanoke* bears about the same relation to press journalism that a speech by Woodrow Wilson bears to one by James E. Watson.

Randolph's role in politics, it may be recalled, was something like that of Mencken's in criticism. But the genius of Roanoke was a far more complex and pathological personality than the Bad Boy of Baltimore. His character and career abound in a maze of con-



traditions such as is seldom seen among the sons of men. He preached democratic doctrines, yet was a man of the most intense aristocratic prejudices. He hated slavery, yet was a passionate champion of the slave interest. He had the wickedest tongue and was the readiest man to give offense that ever spoke in Congress, yet personally he was sensitive as a girl. He was a manly figure in the field, yet habitually a shrew in debate. He could be tender toward those who loved him, yet at times he could act toward them like a brute. He helped to elect to the presidency both Jefferson and Jackson, yet he hated and despised both democracy and nationalism. There was scarcely a leading statesman of Virginia with whom he did not quarrel, and few save John Marshall for whom he retained respect. His last fifteen years were marked by a thousand extravagances of thought and conduct, many of them worthy of an inmate of Bedlam. Here is a fascinating figure for the literary pathologist.

Psychologically, Mr. Johnson has come nearer to making Randolph understandable than any one else has yet done. Henry Adams found the cause of Randolph's morbid and perverse personality in a supposititious lack of discipline in youth. Bruce disproved this theory, but failed to establish one of his own. Being unread in Freud and Adler, he failed to appreciate the significance of some of his own pathological evidence. Randolph, as was suspected in his lifetime and as the post mortem revealed, was sexually impotent. Mr. Johnson, without technical jargon, has very plausibly suggested how a consciousness of this fact must have resulted in an inferiority complex. (Randolph's offensiveness, then, would seem to have been a compensation mechanism.) This complex, plus ill health, plus a misanthropy generated by a strong but incorrect suspicion regarding his brother—these, as Mr. Johnson shows by deft analysis, were the prime factors that went into the making of Randolph's morbid and perverse personality.

To read of John Randolph, arch anti-nationalist, would inevitably suggest by contrast the name of that great contemporary of his who was antipathetic to him in almost every way—Daniel Webster. No two public men of the time stand out in such sharp contrast as the lean, sallow, neurotic, shrill-voiced, caustic, fire-eating, hair-trigger



tempered, eccentric, epigrammatic, sectional-minded Virginian and the massive, swarthy, eupeptic, sonorous, courteous, deliberate, well-balanced, pontifical, nationalistic Yankee. Well, there are three recent biographies of the illustrious Daniel, which will now claim our attention.

The first of these, by Allan L. Benson, appeared three years ago. Now in its second edition, it bears on its dust jacket an encomium by the Hon. Calvin Coolidge, a recent President of the United States. Says he, "The story is well told. . . ." With these words I have no disposition to quarrel. But while Mr. Benson's book makes pleasant reading, defends Webster's consistency, stresses his broad patriotism and mature statesmanship, it adds nothing new from the standpoint of research. In the matter of style it lacks the classic finish and artistic arrangement of Lodge's *Daniel Webster*, published nearly fifty years ago. Lodge, then a young and promising historian, wrote like a more judicial, a less rhetorical Macaulay. But just as Macaulay was steeped in Whiggery, so Lodge was tinged with New England abolitionism. And while acclaiming Webster as one of the greatest of American statesmen and incontestibly the greatest of American orators, he perpetuated in modified form the old abolitionist view of the Seventh of March speech as political apostacy. True, he dismissed the old charges of bribery and political corruption. But he tacitly accepted the slanders of Webster's enemies as to his occasional errors of appetite and passion. Mr. Benson, with fervor and considerable plausibility, defends the illustrious Daniel on every count, and admits him to have been guilty of nothing worse than a certain inaptitude for business and a deplorable tendency to live beyond his means. Lodge, too, it should be said, dealt almost exclusively with Webster as a lawyer and statesman. Mr. Benson has included a good deal of human material, and has depicted Webster in his private life as a generous and very likable sort of man.

A more thorough-going attempt to humanize Webster is that of Samuel Hopkins Adams in *The Godlike Daniel*. As an account of Webster's statesmanship, and especially as an appraisal of the political significance of his career, this book has little value. But as Mr. Adams explains, his book was not intended as "an exhaustive



record nor a historical summary but as an essay in portraiture." Judged purely as a portrait, the book has considerable merit. The Webster that emerges from its pages is vividly alive; more so, in fact, than Mr. Benson's hero, and he makes the Webster of Lodge's book seem like a public monument. Never before, it is safe to say, have the strength and weakness of Webster's nature been presented in such lively contrast. True, in order to achieve his dramatic effect, Mr. Adams sometimes resorts to fictitious dialogue, taking the same liberty with Webster that Webster himself took with a greater Adams when he imaginatively reconstructed the scene of the debate preceeding the Declaration of Independence. But of course that would deceive nobody but a moron. The trouble with Mr. Adams, historically speaking, is that his book lacks balance and the judicial spirit. He devotes a disproportionate amount of space to Webster's faults and failings, chiefly financial, accepts the gossip of Webster's enemies as to his errors of appetite and passion, and in most cases where the motive of Webster's conduct has been questioned by scholars, he has depicted only that version which seems least favorable. Nevertheless, even from this rough handling, Webster emerges, as Mr. Adams admits, a "massive, lustrous, and titanic" figure.

And now we come to our third and last and far and away the most important Websterian opus: *Daniel Webster*, by Claude M. Fuess. Just as *The Godlike Daniel* towered among his contemporaries by reason of his unique combination of eloquence, intellect, and distinction of presence, so Mr. Fuess's book stands out among the biographies of last year in its distinguished combination of scholarship with critical penetration and literary charm. It takes rank, I believe, with Beveridge's *John Marshall*, and it stands among the best half-dozen lives of American statesmen yet written. For our generation, at least, it may safely be pronounced definitive.

It was time that an adequate, full length biography of Webster was done. Before Mr. Benson's book there were, of course, a number of one volume lives of Webster in print. But since George Ticknor Curtis's authorized life, a massive compilation which appeared in 1870, no one has attempted the sort of full length study which Webster's career deserved. Meanwhile fresh materials were accumu-



lating; meanwhile, too, time was effecting a revised estimate, in the consensus of historical opinion, of the latter phase of Webster's career. Webster, it may be said, is one of the few great political figures of his day who have grown in greatness with the passage of time. This cannot be said of Clay; of course it cannot be said of Calhoun. But the public services of Webster are now more highly estimated and more unreservedly praised than at any time since the close of his career. It was once the fashion for Northern historians, while conceding Webster's greatness and genius and the enormous value of his services at first, to picture him as a man who finally failed through defective character and who climaxed his career with a terrible mistake. But the Seventh of March speech is no longer commonly regarded as political apostacy, but rather as far-sighted statesmanship. It seems altogether likely that this speech saved the Union by postponing the Civil War for ten years, while the North waxed strong enough to win. It was time, therefore, that a definitive biography of Webster, correcting and supplementing earlier partial and erroneous judgments should be written, and Mr. Fuess has proved to be just the man for the job.

In the matter of scholarship, Mr. Fuess's book represents the Ph.D. tradition at its best. He has tried to read everything ever written either by or about Daniel Webster, and if he has not quite succeeded, that is not his fault. True, the book contains little information that has not hitherto appeared in print. But it does contain a good deal that has not hitherto appeared in any life of Daniel Webster. A number of partial and some erroneous judgments are supplemented or corrected, and Mr. Fuess has come nearer producing a new portrait than anyone would have thought possible. One aspect of Webster's career—his influence as a Constitutional lawyer—Mr. Fuess has indeed not treated as profoundly as might be. But in general he has done the illustrious Daniel full and signal justice. He has accompanied the life story with an ample background; the reader may easily visualize Webster in the midst of his times. The treatment is sympathetic, and yet at the same time critical. Few men admire Webster more than does Mr. Fuess: he regards him as one of the very greatest of American statesmen, and even attributes the existence of the Union today to the spirit of nationality inspired



by the great orator's glowing words. Yet he does not flinch from recording his hero's weaknesses and his occasional blunders. He does, however, find Webster to have been a much more moral man, in the Sunday school sense, than Lodge supposed. Finally, Mr. Fuess's book has a certain literary charm. The style is that of a man who would rather be right than clever; the sentences are turned and balanced always with a view toward telling the truth. It is one of the merits of Mr. Fuess that he bears one along on the stream of events without one's being very conscious of the matter of style at all. Which, perhaps, is no mean distinction.

CHARLES LEE SNIDER.

Denton, N. C.



## BOOKS RECEIVED

*Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816.* By Delbert Harold Gilpatrick. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1931. Pp. 257. \$4.25.)

*The Country Church in North Carolina.* By Jesse Marvin Ormond. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1931. Pp. xv, 369. \$4.00.)

*The Clinchfield Railroad. The Story of a Trade Route Across the Blue Ridge Mountains.* By William Way, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1931. Pp. xxii, 297. \$5.00.)

*The Secession Movement, 1860-1861.* By Dwight Lowell Dumond. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. x, 294. \$2.50.)

*Sir Walter Raleigh. That Damned Upstart.* By Donald Barr Chidsey. (New York: The John Day Company. 1931. Pp. xii, 315. \$3.75.)

*The Epic of America.* By James Truslow Adams. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 433. \$3.00.)

*Cyrus Hall McCormick, Seed-Time, 1809-1856.* By William T. Hutchinson. (New York and London: The Century Company. 1930. Pp. xiv, 493.)

*American Neutrality in 1793. A Study in Cabinet Government.* By Charles Marion Thomas. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1931. Pp. 294. \$4.50.)

*England, Russia and the Straits Question, 1844-1856.* By Vernon John Puryear. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1931. Pp. xvi, 481. \$4.00.)

*California Letters of Lucius Fairchild.* Edited by Joseph Schafer. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1931. Pp. xxii, 212.)

*Epperson and Allied Families, Genealogical and Biographical.* By Elizabeth Weaver Epperson. (New York: Privately printed. 1931. Pp. 167.)



## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, *The North Carolina Booklet*, and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates is requested to send them to A. R. Newsome, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at the regular price of \$2.00 per volume or 50 cents per number.

Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina is the author of *Washington the Traveler*, 44 pages, which is pamphlet number 11 of the series *Honor to George Washington*, edited by Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, historian of the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington. The pamphlet is in four parts: Western Journeys, New England Journeys, Southern Journeys, and Incidents of Travel, compiled by David M. Matteson. The entire series of sixteen pamphlets, published by the Bicentennial Commission, Washington, and available to the public, comprises the following: Frontier Background of Washington's Career, Washington the Man of Mind, Tributes to Washington, Washington the Farmer, Washington as a Religious Man, Washington the Colonial and National Statesman, Washington and the Constitution, Washington Proprietor of Mount Vernon, Washington the Military Man, Washington the Traveler, Washington the Business Man, Washington as Engineer and City Builder, Washington's Home and Fraternal Life, Race Elements in Washington's Time, and Classified Washington Bibliography. These pamphlets will be particularly useful for school and club programs during 1932 in celebration of the bicentennial of Washington's birth.



A memorial tablet to Jefferson Davis was unveiled on September 13th at Old Cavalry Episcopal Church at Fletcher, near Asheville. The tablet was presented by Mrs. Glenn Long, president of the North Carolina Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the principal address was delivered by Dr. William R. Owen of Asheville.

The O. Henry Memorial Award Committee announced on October 21 that "Can't Cross Jordan by Myself," by Wilbur Daniel Steele, published in *Pictorial Review*, August, 1930, was awarded the first prize for the best short story by an American writer published during the year in American magazines, and that Miss Crichton Alston Thorne, of Warren County, received honorable mention for her story, "Chimney City." Mr. Steele is a native of Greensboro.

Mr. C. B. Woltz is author of "Romulus Z. Linney, 'The Bull of the Brushes'," published in the *Greensboro Daily News*, October 11.

A marker to Col. Frederick Hambright was unveiled on October 7 on the King's Mountain battlefield by the Frederick Hambright chapter, D. A. R., of King's Mountain. Dr. Delia Dixon Carroll of Raleigh delivered the principal address.

The report for 1930-1931 of Dr. William K. Boyd, Director of Libraries of Duke University, shows amazing growth in the four libraries of Duke University. During the year book expenditures of \$171,105.21 resulted in accessions of 53,365, raising the total number of books in the libraries to 246,280. In 1925, the total was 87,857 books. Nearly 1,400 volumes of newspapers were added. Among the manuscripts obtained were the correspondence of Clement Clay of Alabama, Paul Hamilton Hayne of South Carolina, and Alfred Thayer Mahan; letters of Robert E. Lee, Nathanael Greene, and John Randolph of Roanoke; correspondence and business reports of John Hook and Alexander Cunningham of Virginia; plantation diaries and records of William and Thomas Massie of Virginia and Richard Singleton of South Carolina; and a collection of Confederate military records.



The General James Johnston Pettigrew chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy dedicated a handsome memorial brick wall and tablet at the Confederate Cemetery in Raleigh, September 27, in honor of the heroism of the 2,500 Confederate soldiers and sailors buried there. Mr. John J. Blair presented the wall and tablet and Mr. Baxter Durham accepted them for the State.

The following appointees of Governor O. Max Gardner represented North Carolina at the elaborate sesquicentennial celebration of the surrender of Cornwallis, held at Yorktown, Va., October 16-19: Dr. D. T. Smithwick, Louisburg; Dr. A. R. Newsome, Raleigh; Mrs. J. H. Anderson, Raleigh; Mrs. S. P. Cooper, Henderson; W. A. Graham, Raleigh; John M. Morehead, Stockholm, Sweden; and F. M. Gresham, Charlotte. Governor Gardner delivered an address at one of the exercises. President Hoover, Secretary of the Navy Charles Francis Adams, General John J. Pershing, Marshal Henri Petain, and a long list of notables delivered addresses, and elaborate pageants were staged. Many North Carolinians were present.

Mrs. John H. Anderson of Raleigh, former historian of the North Carolina division and writer on various phases of the War of 1861-65, was elected on November 19th at the general convention at Jacksonville as Historian-General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Election is for three years.

Miss Hattie Parrott, state supervisor of elementary education, supervised the second unit of the North Carolina Radio School, conducted from October 5th to December 10th through Station WPTF, Raleigh, from 11:30 to 12:00 o'clock on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays. Each of sixteen members of a faculty addressed the radio audience weekly for five weeks on his particular course in a curriculum of recreational reading, citizenship, nature study, home economics, guidance, literature, art, health, geography and travel, science, time and topics, modern adventure, health and physical education, history, current events and music. Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, delivered the weekly lectures on North Carolina history. The Radio School was conducted primarily for the public schools.



Mr. Verne E. Chatelain of Peru, Nebraska, has been appointed Chief Historian of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. His duties will be to coördinate and extend historical work in all national monuments and parks and to investigate and popularize the regional history centering about them.

The United States Department of Agriculture issued in September a 25-page mimeographed bulletin, "George Washington and Agriculture. A Classified List of Annotated References with an Introductory Note," by Everett E. Edwards, Associate Agricultural Economist, Division of Statistical and Historical Research, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

A new quarterly historical magazine has made its appearance with the January, 1932, issue as volumn I, number 1—*North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Record*, edited and published by County Historian Clarence Griffin of Forest City, at the subscription price of \$1.00 per year. For several years Mr. Griffin has been particularly active in promoting interest in local history and the *Record* will be a useful avenue for the publication of the articles of many writers on family, local and state history. The editor announces that "each issue will present a number of timely local history articles, representing as nearly as possible every portion of the State, and every period of the State's history. . . . There are in North Carolina hundreds of local history subjects, little known to the State at large, about which interesting articles can be written. This material should be preserved, and the purpose of this magazine will be to secure these local history stories and publish them. . . . The various County Historians, officials of patriotic and historical societies, and others interested in preserving North Carolina history, are requested to coöperate with us, and submit material for publication. Manuscripts, old letters, biographical material, local history sketches, county histories, etc., are desired." Genealogical inquiries are invited. The first issue of forty-four double-column pages contains the following articles: "The Wiseman Family in North Carolina," by Mrs. Romulus Duncan; "A Political Broadside of the War of 1812"; "Thomas Hutchinson, Sr., Revolutionary Patriot,"



by Clarence Griffin; "A Clock that Kept Time for Cornwallis," by C. R. Ross; "Bath Has the Oldest Church in North Carolina," by Gertrude Carraway; "Some Difficulties of Travel in 1816"; "Governor Smith Buried at Night to Foil Creditors," by Louis T. Moore; "Randolph County Has South's Oldest Cemetery," by J. Worth Bacon; "North Carolina's Military Forts and Defenses," by Fred A. Olds; "Will Honor Southern Leaders in 'Westminster Abbey of South'," by J. B. Hicklin; "Halifax Stands Out in History"; and "Name 'Tar Heel' Bestowed on Carolinians by British," by H. W. Kendall.

A group of fifty citizens held a dinner meeting at the Sir Walter Hotel on November 6th for the discussion of plans for a celebration on Roanoke Island in 1934 of the three hundred fiftieth anniversary of Sir Walter Raleigh's first expedition to the New World in 1584. Tentative plans include a pageant drama to be written by Paul Green as a part of the celebration. The following committee with plenary powers was selected to carry forward the plans: W. O. Saunders, Dean H. D. Peacock, Jack DeLysle, Tyre C. Taylor, Frederick H. Koch, Paul Green, Miss Catherine Albertson, D. B. Fearing, R. B. Etheridge, and Mrs. Leo Doggett.

Henry L. Stevens, 35-year old attorney of Warsaw and former state commander of the American Legion, was elected national commander of the American Legion at its convention in Detroit in October.

The North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy held its thirty-fifth annual convention at Charlotte, October 15-16. The convention awarded prizes and scholarships, heard an address by Senator Cameron Morrison, and approved the architect's drawing of a 30-foot granite memorial to be erected in the spring at Fort Fisher.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has secured from Mr. Theo D. Morrison and Mr. Allen Williamson of Asheville, the collection of Col. Allen T. Davidson and Gen. Theo F. Davidson Papers, consisting of more than 2,200 original letters, family papers and addresses; 43 pamphlets; newspaper files and photographs; and



6 letter books, 1898-1908. General Davidson and his father were prominent leaders of their generations, and the collection constitutes a large and valuable group of source material.

The thirty-first annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, Thursday and Friday, December 3-4, 1931.

On Thursday evening, after the invocation by Rev. F. S. Love of Raleigh, Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire, president of the Association, delivered the presidential address, "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, and Religious Liberty in the Province of North Carolina," and Judge Robert W. Winston of Chapel Hill addressed the Association on the subject, "Andrew Johnson: The Modern Prometheus." President Cheshire appointed Mr. John J. Blair, Miss Carrie Broughton and Mrs. John H. Anderson as the Committee on Resolutions, and Dr. Thomas W. Lingle, Miss Adelaide L. Fries, and Henry M. London as the Committee on Nominations, to report at the business meeting on Friday morning. The Mayflower Society Cup was on exhibition during the exercises. A reception to members and guests of the Association and the North Carolina State Art and North Carolina Folk-Lore Societies was then held.

At the session on Friday morning, December 4, the following papers were read: "Bibliography of North Carolina History and Literature in 1931," by Majorie J. Beale, Raleigh; "Gold Mining: North Carolina's Forgotten Industry," by Prof. Fletcher M. Green, Chapel Hill; "Prospecting for Poets and Scouting for Scribblers," by Col. William A. Blair, Winston-Salem; and "North Carolina and the Confederacy," by Prof. H. T. Lefler, Raleigh.

Mr. John J. Blair presented the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which was adopted unanimously. It comprised resolutions of thanks to various agencies and persons contributing to the success of the meeting; to the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina for the establishment of the Mayflower Society Cup award; and to the North Carolina Historical Commission and the State Library for their work in collecting historical and literary materials. Mrs. John H. Anderson of Raleigh, historian-general of the U. D. C., announced the offer of a prize of \$250 to the best story not exceeding 6,000 words of the life and contribution of the



colonists in any of the southern colonies. The stories must be submitted to the historian-general before June, 1932.

The following officers of the Association for the ensuing year were elected, upon recommendation of the Committee on Nominations, whose report was made by Dr. Thomas W. Lingle: president, Dr. George W. Paschal, Wake Forest; first vice-president, Mr. Burnham S. Colburn, Biltmore Forest; second vice-president, Miss Sallie Joyner Davis, Greenville; third vice-president, Rev. Andrew J. Howell, Wilmington; and secretary, Dr. A. R. Newsome, Raleigh.

The final session of the Association was held in the Hugh Morson Auditorium, Friday evening. The handsome Mayflower Society Cup, displayed in its case on the stage, was presented to the Association on behalf of the Mayflower Society by Mr. Kingsland Van Winkle of Asheville. Mr. B. S. Colburn of Biltmore Forest is Governor of the Society. Dr. George W. Paschal, a vice-president and president-elect of the Association, accepted it. Mr. Josephus Daniels then presented a replica to Prof. M. C. S. Noble of Chapel Hill, whose book, *A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina*, won the first annual award as the best published original work by a resident North Carolinian during the year ending November 1. The name of the author and his book, together with the year date of award, are engraved on the large Mayflower Society Cup, which will be on permanent display in the Hall of History. The board of award, as constituted by the official offer, was composed of the president of the Association and the heads of the History and English departments at Duke University and the University of North Carolina.

The Mayflower Society Cup was designed and executed by William Waldo Dodge, Jr., in Biltmore Forest. The cup, with its cover surmounted with a model of the Mayflower, measures 20 inches high, exclusive of the Belgian black marble base. It weighs approximately 170 ounces Troy, an exceedingly heavy sterling silver cup. The ship is built up piece by piece and welded. The "shell" or body is a single piece raised by hand with a hammer. The cover and pedestal were formed in the same way. The handles were cast from a wax model made by Mr. Dodge, and after casting had to be chased, another hand operation, where small blunt chisels and tools of special shape were used to finish and shape the detail. The wave design on the center



band about the cup was put on with a special die made in his shop, and struck one blow with a hammer for each impression. In other words, every part of the cup was made by hand in the shop in Biltmore Forest, just as Jeremiah Dummer or Paul Revere would have done it one hundred and fifty years ago; and the engraving is of the same character which was used when the Mayflower landed. The ship's model is as faithful a reproduction of the real Mayflower as the lapse of years and the meagerness of description make possible. The mayflower motif is carried out in the flowers on the handles, with the leaves following the curve, and the wave motif on the center band is in character with the ship.

The cup rests on a base of polished black Belgian marble, an integral part of the design. Around this is a wide band of sterling silver, designed to take the names of the winners. The case was designed by Mr. Dodge and executed in The Artisans' Shop of Messrs. George Arthur and Robert Valier in Biltmore Forest. It was made entirely by hand, of solid black walnut. The carving of the mayflower and dates "1630—1930," was done by Mr. Arthur. The case proper is of plate glass, and a sheet of glass rests on the bottom. Both cup and case were designed and executed wholly in North Carolina.

Following the presentation exercises, Dr. A. R. Newsome introduced Dr. Ulrich B. Phillips, professor of history in Yale University, whose scholarly address, "The Historic Defense of Negro Slavery," brought the Association meeting to a close.

Social courtesies extended to Professor Phillips by Mr. Frank Harper, Mr. Samuel Lawrence, and Dr. A. R. Newsome added to the attractiveness of the meeting.

The twentieth annual meeting of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society was held at the Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, December 4. Mrs. Josephus Daniels delivered the presidential address and the following papers were presented: "Folk-Music in America," by Lamar Stringfield, Chapel Hill; "Mythical Monsters," by Mrs. John Carr, Durham; "North Carolina Folk-Tales, International and Local," by Ralph S. Boggs, Chapel Hill; "Voodooism," by Edward P. Dreyer, New Orleans, La., and "Proverbs," by George E.



Hoffman, Winnetka, Ill. The following were re-elected as officers for the ensuing year: president, Mrs. Josephus Daniels, Raleigh; first vice-president, Mrs. D. H. Sutton, Lenoir; second vice-president, Dr. Thomas P. Harrison, Raleigh; third vice-president, W. J. Andrews, Raleigh; and secretary-treasurer, Dr. Frank C. Brown, Durham.

The North Carolina State Art Society held its annual meeting at the Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, December 2 and 3. On the evening of December 2nd, in the Virginia Dare Ballroom, an art exhibition by the North Carolina Professional Artists was opened with addresses by Governor O. Max Gardner, Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington, Dr. A. T. Allen, and Miss Leila Mechlen, secretary of the American Federation of Arts, Washington, D. C. Announcement was made that Mrs. Arrington has established a fund of \$1,000 to be used in units of \$20 matched by \$20 of local funds in purchasing reprints of famous paintings for the public schools, and has also made possible the circulation among the schools of a collection of reproductions accompanied by an original oil painting given in memory of her mother. The exhibit was open to the public, December 2-14. At a business meeting on December 3, the following officers were elected for the next year: honorary president, Governor O. Max Gardner; president, Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington, Warrenton; vice-presidents, Mrs. S. Westray Battle of Asheville, William Polk of Warrenton, and Josephus Daniels of Raleigh; secretary, Dr. M. C. S. Noble, Jr., Raleigh; treasurer, Miss Isabelle Bowen, Raleigh; and chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. Clarence Poe, Raleigh.

A collection of the best short stories of 1930, edited by Edgar J. O'Brien, contains a story by William Polk of Warrenton, "The Patriot," published in *Hound and Horn*.

The North Carolina board, meeting at Chapel Hill on December 5th, selected two University students, W. C. Dunn of Kinston and Mayne Albright of Raleigh, for recommendation to the board which meets later in Atlanta to award Rhodes scholarships.



The Thomas Wade Chapter, D. A. R., unveiled a tablet to Mary Sheffield in the Bennett cemetery and one to Captain Patrick Boggan, near Wadesboro, December 2nd.

"When Gold Mining Flourished in Guilford," is the title of an article by J. W. Cannon in the *Greensboro Daily News*, December 6.

The following articles in periodicals are noteworthy: Randolph G. Adams, *A View of Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown* (The American Historical Review, October, 1931); Wesley Frank Craven, *The Dissolution of the London Company for Virginia* (*ibid.*); Richard H. Shryock, *Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, September); R. H. Woody, *The Labor and Immigration Problem of South Carolina during Reconstruction* (*ibid.*); Grant Foreman, editor, *Journey of a Party of Cherokee Emigrants* (*ibid.*); Willard Rouse Jillson, *George Washington's Western Kentucky Lands* (The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, October); Brent Altsheler, *The Long Hunters and James Knox their Leader* (The Filson Club History Quarterly, October); E. P. Southall, *The Attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Toward the Negro from 1844 to 1870* (The Journal of Negro History, October); Armistead C. Gordon, *Daniel Family of Halifax, North Carolina* (Tyler's Quarterly, October); Col. John W. Wright, *Some Notes on the Continental Army* (William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, July).

*History of Perquimans County*, by Mrs. Watson Winslow, Edwards & Broughton Co., Raleigh, pages xi, 488, has been issued recently. Two narrative chapters of thirty-seven pages, "Early Inhabitants" and "Religion and Churches," are followed by abstracts of Perquimans County deed books, A-I, petitions, and divisions of estates; marriage records; lists of clerks of the court, sheriffs, and representatives; data concerning many families; a rent roll; abstracts of a few wills; and an index. The volume, which is rather a compilation of abstracts of records "to and through the Revolutionary period" than a history, will be of interest and value to students of genealogy.



## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Miss Ruth Blackwelder is a teacher of history in Claremont Central High School, Hickory, North Carolina.

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Dr. Philip G. Davidson is a professor of history in Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia.

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## COTTON MANUFACTURING AND STATE REGULATION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1861-'65

By ELIZABETH YATES WEBB

The effect of the Civil War as a sort of *élan vital* of industrial activity in the South has been over-rated in such a way as to result in an unreal separation into ante-bellum and post-bellum sections of what actually is a continuing complex of social activities. However, it would be as unreal to go to the other extreme and ignore the economic consequences of the drastic social changes during and following the war period. Slavery, one of the chief obstacles to a diversified industrial development, was abolished and the fervor for and faith in a predominantly agricultural society were altered and diverted into other channels. Manufacturing which had been choked by lack of popular interest and unfavorable social arrangements had a better chance for expansion in 1880 because of some of the changes due to the war and in spite of the economic losses.

But in a more immediate sense the four years of the conflict held a significance for southern manufactures—especially textiles, and particularly those in North Carolina. The State in its exertions to promote cotton manufacturing focussed considerable attention on this industry, took every measure calculated to increase output at moderate prices, requisitioned a certain percentage of the product at a set profit, and attempted to regulate the price at which the remainder was sold. For the first time there was a demand for every ounce of yarn and yard of cloth which could be turned out, and in spite of disabilities fastened on the industry by what owners considered unfair state restrictions, prices were high and profits at least better than before the war. But for the irreparable wear and tear on equipment and the collapse of Confederate finances, 1861-65 would have marked a period of phenomenal prosperity in the North Carolina textile industry.



The details of the condition of the industry during these years of state regulations and the effect on output, prices, and profits, will be taken up in the remainder of this paper. First, however, it will be helpful to see the position North Carolina held in the Confederacy so as better to understand the importance of the rôle of its manufacturing enterprises.

## I

As a matter of logic it may seem strange that North Carolina should have thrown her lot in with the old South. North Carolina was not one of the great cotton or tobacco states, and was not as important a slave state as Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia or the states of the Southwest. Certainly Carolina slave owners were not anxious to be deprived of their human property or to have the basis of their social position destroyed; but the proportion of slave owners was not so large, and most of these owned comparatively few slaves. There had been strong abolition sentiment particularly among the Quakers and in the up-country, and to the population as a whole slavery was not directly of sufficient economic concern to fight over.

To be sure there had been for decades a slow but sure encroachment of pro-slavery sentiment across the State. Many in the opposition had migrated, more had given in, and most who wished slavery at an end were frustrated by the problem of what to do with tens of thousands of freed Negroes whom they genuinely feared. Strange as it may seem at a casual glance, the small landowners were among the most vociferous supporters of secession—men just rising in the world, or hoping to rise, with little to lose and much to gain. The poor whites with practically no positive enthusiasms of their own could be led to accept popular prejudice and bear much of the brunt of war as though they had something at stake in the *status quo*. A great number of the rest of the population were borne along with little logic behind their attitudes.

But even a careful analysis of what was being said at the time fails to indicate sufficient opinion favoring secession to account for North Carolina's entering the war or putting so much of men, money, and supplies into it. The die was cast more certainly by the quick succession of events occurring in April 1861 than by the long-drawn-



out sectional differences which were at the bottom of the war. The State was slow to secede even after the tide of events was obviously sweeping it into the conflict. A call for a convention to discuss the question of secession had been defeated by popular vote in North Carolina, and of the representatives voted on at the same time, a majority were union men;<sup>1</sup> Davis had been elected and Sumter besieged,<sup>2</sup> when on April 15 Lincoln called for troops. This decided the matter.

Governor Ellis's reply to the Secretary of War indicates the reaction against this policy:<sup>3</sup>

Your dispatch is received, and if genuine (which its extraordinary character leads me to doubt), I have to say in reply that I regard a levy of troops for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South, as in violation of the Constitution and a usurpation of power.

I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina.

If the State had to fight it could not be *against* the South. April 27 Lincoln ordered the southern ports blockaded and three days later the legislature of North Carolina met. There seemed no other way out and on May 20 an ordinance of secession was passed.

Jonathan Worth's<sup>4</sup> remarks on the situation represent what a great number of the leaders in North Carolina felt at the time:

A large majority up to the issuing of Lincoln's proclamation were firm for the Union. Some of us would have made any sacrifice to preserve it. The small concessions made by the last Congress had strengthened us. Lincoln prostrated us. He could have devised no scheme more effectual than the one he has pursued, to overthrow the friends of Union here. . . . I am left no other alternative but to fight for or against my section. I cannot hesitate.

But as a matter of fact North Carolinians were never as keen about fighting for "the section" as for the State, and the latter pursued as individualistic a course as ever party to a war well could. A

<sup>1</sup> See text of Call for Convention, *North Carolina Standard*, Feb. 6, 1861. The vote as recorded in the *Standard*, March 20, was 46,672 for and 47,333 against. The delegates included 52 "submissionists," 22 "conditional submissionists" and 46 "Southern Rights Men."

<sup>2</sup> Sumter fell April 13.

<sup>3</sup> See Ellis's correspondence (Mss.) in files of the Historical Commission, Raleigh.

<sup>4</sup> He was state treasurer during the war and elected governor immediately after. This letter is to Springs, Oak and Co. May 13, 1861. *Letters*, V. 1, p. 143.



large portion of the North Carolina correspondence and records of the Rebellion is taken up with quarrelling over her prerogatives.<sup>5</sup> There were official flare-ups when state troops were taken to Virginia to fight and were commanded by Virginia officers; when broken-down cavalry horses or troops from the front were quartered in North Carolina counties;<sup>6</sup> when in 1863 the State Supreme Court held it could issue writs of habeas corpus thus releasing anyone held by Confederate authorities;<sup>7</sup> and when the Confederate tax in kind of 1864 was held unconstitutional. These instances hardly give an adequate idea of the constant wrangle between Vance and the Confederacy; yet he was indignant at accusations that the state courts were protecting deserters and that the State was half-hearted in support of the South.<sup>8</sup>

Nor was it merely among the officials of the State that one found an impatience with the conduct of the war and a weariness with the futile conflict itself. While actual Union followers were few after the war began, there was considerable antagonism to any aggressive action on the part of the Confederacy. Thousands of men from the West went into the federal army, others evaded conscription, and many deserters accumulated in the western counties.<sup>9</sup> In 1862 there were some peace meetings,<sup>10</sup> but during 1863 and 1864 they became more numerous and open.<sup>11</sup> There was considerable popular dissatisfaction with the suspension of habeas corpus and in 1863

<sup>5</sup> See *Records of the Rebellion*, letters from and to Vance.

<sup>6</sup> The following letter to Seddon, Confederate Secretary of War, is a sample of the tone of some of Vance's protests: "I give you my word that in North Carolina it [stealing, burning, etc. by Confederate troops] has become a grievance, damnable and not to be borne. If God Almighty had yet in store another plague, worse than all others, which he intended to have let loose on the Egyptians in case Pharaoh still hardened his heart, I am sure it must have been a regiment or so of half armed, half disciplined Confederate cavalry!" He then threatened to call out the state militia and war against them if something were not done at once. See *Legislative Documents*, 1864. Doc. 1, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> After the first Confederate suspension of habeas corpus (1862) Vance in his message to the legislature pronounced the Confederate action as a dangerous precedent. Upon the re-enactment of the suspension, May 1864, the legislature passed a resolution of protest and Vance deplored the encroachment upon "This time-honored and blood-bought guard of personal freedom." Re comment on habeas corpus and the Supreme Court see the *North Carolina Standard*, June 16, 26 and July 7, 14, 1863.

Feeling ran high when a private discharged by the State as being over-age for conscription was arrested by Confederate authorities, released by the North Carolina court, rearrested, and this time released by state militia at the governor's orders. *North Carolina Standard*, June 16, 1863.

<sup>8</sup> Vance's correspondence in files of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh. Also *Records of the Rebellion* and *Legislative Documents*. For resolution refuting accusations against the North Carolina Assembly see *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1862-63*, p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> Re increasing number of deserters in North Carolina and inability to force them back in service, see special "Message of Vance to the Assembly," *Legislative Documents*, Session 1862-63. Document No. 19, pp. 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> For example, see letter of Worth's daughter re Meeting in Randolph County, March 1862. Letters, V. 1, p. 163.

<sup>11</sup> See Worth's letters especially Jan. and Feb. 1864; and the *North Carolina Standard*, especially Aug. 1863 and Jan. 1864.



and 1864 there were meetings in the northwestern counties protesting against the conscript act, taking the position that the State had furnished more than its quota of men and supplies and until other states furnished more they were against further conscription, particularly by non-resident conscript officers.

W. W. Holden and his *Standard* headed up the dissatisfaction with the war and moved for peace. He opposed Vance for reelection in 1864, the chief issue being *peace*—though Vance himself never gave his sympathy completely to secession and favored peace conditionally.<sup>12</sup> Holden made some very bitter enemies<sup>13</sup> but had a large following, and during the summer before the election, Worth wrote:<sup>14</sup> “The ‘last dollar and last man’ men abuse Holden’s peace articles, but the fact that he has the largest and most rapidly increasing circulation of any other journal in the State, indicates the current of public opinion.”

In August, Worth wrote his brother:<sup>15</sup> “The masses are for peace on *any terms*.”

## II

In this setting of disagreement within the State and between the State and the Confederacy, it is interesting to see the thorough efforts maintained in North Carolina to raise and equip men and to prosecute the war with vigor. North Carolina, one of the least rebellious states, and one of the sharpest thorns in the flesh of the Confederate government, was perhaps the most important state in furnishing men and supplies, through its blockading ventures and indispensable manufactures.

Governor Clark in his message to the General Assembly August 16, 1861, said:<sup>16</sup>

The blockade of our coast and the non-intercourse around our borders have established two very important facts. First, that in our commercial relations we have become entirely dependent on the North for almost every article that we use connected with machinery, farming, merchandize, food and clothing, both the luxuries and necessities of

<sup>12</sup> Vance (one of the State’s military idols and an able and tireless chief executive) received 58,070 votes to 14,491 for Holden. See *Raleigh Progress*, October 6, 1863.

<sup>13</sup> His unpopular reputation in the State is based more on his Reconstruction position than on his activities during the war.

<sup>14</sup> Letters, Aug. 3, 1863, Vol. 1, p. 249.

<sup>15</sup> Aug. 13, 1863. Letters, Vol. 1, p. 256.

<sup>16</sup> *Public Documents*, 2nd Executive Session 1861. Document No. 1. Ellis had died and Clark was acting governor till Vance was elected in 1862.



life, including almost every article needed for our defence. The second and more important fact is also now established, that we have the means and material for supplying all these wants within our own borders. Necessity is developing these resources and *driving* us to *the use of them*. The continuance of this war and blockade for two or three years may inflict much personal suffering, but it will surely accomplish our national and commercial independence.

These were words appropriately encouraging for a chief executive's opening speech, but in a practical light the assets within reach hardly looked equal to the needs.

Vance, who sometimes was more eloquent than accurate, was rather near the mark in his estimate of manufacturing capital in the State, when he wrote:<sup>17</sup>

In manufacture of cotton North Carolina had less than \$1,500,000 invested; in wool not over \$300,000, perhaps not more in iron, and these latter were but small establishments for local recommendation.

How, from these meagre beginnings within a relatively short time, the State became not only self-sufficient in food and clothing but furnished means to support and arm its own troops and supply a surplus to the Confederacy, is a fascinating story of enterprise.

The 37,000 muskets taken from the federal arsenal at Fayetteville had to be remodelled; others were captured in battle and more were manufactured. Powder works were set up. Horses for cavalry and transport were gotten from Kentucky which was still neutral. Saddles and harness materials were secured by special agents, largely in New Orleans. The amount of land to be put in cotton and tobacco was limited by agreement and law, and efforts made to increase the production and import of all foodstuffs possible.<sup>18</sup> At the same time a resolution of the Council of State renewed each thirty days was prohibiting the export of food from the State;<sup>19</sup> and this policy was bringing protests from cotton and woolen manufacturers.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, Vol. 5, p. 470.

<sup>18</sup> *Legislative Documents, 1861-62*, House Bill No. 151, to limit production of cotton and tobacco. Re sufficiency of food supplies see Governor's Message Nov. 17, 1862, *Public Documents*, Senate, 1862-1863. No. 1, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Executive papers (Mss.) of Henry Clark, Oct. 1, 1861, resolution "to prohibit the transportation of articles of prime necessity beyond the limits of the State." This was passed by the House Nov. 22. See *Journal*, 1862-63, p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> For example, see in Quarter Master's Records, letter from V. Mauney (Oct. 14, 1861) saying it was impossible to continue manufacturing with wool obtainable in the State, and he could get wool from outside only in exchange for his woolen cloth.



It was impossible to maintain an unconditional embargo on exports and though Clark's executive proclamation, March 28, 1862,<sup>21</sup> prohibited "exportation beyond the limits of the State of all cotton and woolen goods, including yarns, jeans, linseys and blankets except through orders of the proper officers of the Confederate or State Governments," in June he wrote Adjutant General Martin<sup>22</sup> "you have permission to carry out of the State cotton yarns and cotton goods to be exchanged for wool or woolen goods or Bacon or Salt or any clothing or provisions."

Thus trading under state supervision was promoted and the law was held over any who might be tempted to sell or buy speculatively rather than for the needs of the government. Through these efforts to keep within the State all possible supplies and to collect from over the South all others available, temporary equipment was obtained.

When September 1861 had arrived it was becoming evident that the Confederate officials were not going to be able to equip soldiers for winter,<sup>23</sup> and on September 20, the General Assembly passed a "Resolution to Provide Winter Clothing for the Troops."<sup>24</sup> A portion of the resolution authorized the governor to "make an arrangement with the Government of the Confederate States whereby he shall receive the commutation money for the clothing of the North Carolina troops, which may now or hereafter be in the service of the Confederate States, and when received he shall apply the same and such further sum as may be necessary, through proper agents, in providing and furnishing said troops with necessary and comfortable clothing."

This arrangement was entered into, North Carolina being the only state thus undertaking to clothe its own soldiers. The State agreed to sell the Confederate authorities the surplus supplies procured within its borders if they would keep their agents from buying them in the state markets.<sup>25</sup>

James G. Martin was made Adjutant General of the State with the work of Quarter Master, Commissary, Ordnance, and Pay under

<sup>21</sup> Executive Papers.

<sup>22</sup> Executive Papers. Letter, June 17, 1862.

<sup>23</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, Vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> See *North Carolina Public Laws, 1861-62*.

<sup>25</sup> Vance says the Quarter Master's Department had considerable difficulty, chiefly because this agreement was almost immediately violated. *Public Documents Session 1862-63*, Governor's Message, Document 1, p. 6.



him.<sup>26</sup> He at once established a clothing factory in Raleigh with Captain I. W. Garrett at its head,<sup>27</sup> called on the mills in the State to furnish all the goods possible and sent agents into several Southern states to purchase everything that could be used for clothing.<sup>28</sup>

During the first year, September 30, 1861 to September 30, 1862 Captain Garrett had manufactured for the Quarter Master's Department (among various other articles of equipment) the following:

5,979 overcoats	109,041 drawers
49,345 jackets	8,527 pairs socks
5,954 coats	1,228 pairs shoes
68,364 pants	2,801 woolen blankets
61,275 shirts	11,952 carpet blankets <sup>29</sup>

The Quarter Master's Department issued most of these articles plus a quantity of others which were purchased, though the report states that all the clothing issued was manufactured in the State. The total list of supplies issued for the year included:

22,595 overcoats	85,597 drawers
48,093 jackets	47,155 pairs socks
27,380 coats	75,809 pairs shoes
85,779 pants	25,185 blankets <sup>30</sup>
110,723 shirts	

But as good as these efforts were they did not prove sufficient to meet the increasing needs and in the fall of 1862 new and more vigorous plans were inaugurated. Blockade running was begun; the manufacture of cotton and wool cards, and home spinning and weaving were encouraged; materials were let out to agents and aid societies to be made into garments; large contracts were made with a number of clothing factories; and requisitions were made under

<sup>26</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, Vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Major Dowd later held this position.

<sup>28</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, Vol. 1, p. 6. Also see various letters in files of the Quarter Master's Department.

<sup>29</sup> *Public Documents*. Document No. 1, A. 1862-63.

<sup>30</sup> See list of articles issued by Quarter Master's Department, September 30, 1861—Sept. 30, 1862. Adjutant General's Report to the governor, 1862, pp. 14, 19.



the Confederate exemption law for securing the needed amount of material from the textile manufacturers of the State.

At Martin's urging, Governor Vance, soon after taking office in the fall of 1862, authorized the purchase of supplies abroad and a ship to transport them.<sup>31</sup> State bonds were given to John White as agent, and in 1863 the legislature appropriated a fund to buy cotton to pay for these European purchases,<sup>32</sup> and Captain William Oliver, who had a part in purchasing the foreign supplies was commissioned to buy every bale of cotton obtainable at 25 cents a pound. Vance, writing later,<sup>33</sup> said the State purchased and held in trust 11,000 bales of cotton and 100,000 barrels of rosin to pay for blockaded goods.<sup>34</sup> Most of the former was taken over by the Federals.

The state-owned blockader brought in on its eleven trips, (among other things) "Large quantities of machinery supplies, 60,000 pairs of hand cards, 10,000 grain scythes, 200 barrels of blue stone for the wheat growers, leather and shoes for 250,000 pairs, 50,000 blankets, gray woolen cloth for at least 250,000 suits of uniforms, 12,000 overcoats ready made . . ." <sup>35</sup> as well as rifles, ammunition, and hospital supplies.

In 1862 there were efforts made to obtain card-making machinery <sup>36</sup> and two machines were brought from Europe. Money was advanced to any one manufacturing cards<sup>37</sup> and in addition to those thus secured, according to Vance's statements, there were 60,000 pairs brought through the blockade by the state-owned steamer. These were apportioned to the various counties to the wives or dependents of soldiers and were avidly sought after.<sup>38</sup> Until the end of the war, government agents were bartering cotton yarn for wool and woolen homespun and there are numerous reports of large quantities of country jeans available. It is impossible to estimate how much cloth was produced outside the factories and in addition to

<sup>31</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, Vol. 1, p. 17.

<sup>32</sup> *North Carolina Public Laws*, 1863, Chapter 37.

<sup>33</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, Vol. 5, pp. 471-72.

<sup>34</sup> An incomplete list (in *North Carolina Regiment*, Vol. 1, pp. 32-33) included in the first cargoes of the *Ad Vance* such articles as 300,000 yards of woolen army cloth, over 25,000 pairs of wool blankets, as many socks and twice as many shoes.

<sup>35</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, Vol. 5, p. 471.

<sup>36</sup> Re correspondence with governor of Georgia to buy a machine to manufacture cards, see *Public Laws 1862-63*, Jan. 26, 1863.

<sup>37</sup> N. C. Public Laws, Ordinance No. 30, Feb. 25, 1862. Also H. Bills Nos. 64 and 262. Sess. 1862-63.

<sup>38</sup> See numerous letters of inquiry in Quarter Master's Records.



the woolen fabric imported, but from these three sources the State secured considerably more than enough for its needs.<sup>39</sup>

Shirts and drawers were made by Soldiers' Aid Societies in various towns over the State, the materials being furnished by the government or money advanced for them and the labor given. On a larger scale contracts were let to men and materials requisitioned directly from the mills for garments to be made by poor or destitute women. Letters to the quarter masters repeatedly mentioned the eagerness for this sort of work of women with no other means of livelihood. Several of the cotton factories sold none of their regular product but made their cloth into shirts and drawers, selling the entire output of garments to the State and bartering part of their yarn or cloth for running expenses. The Cedar Falls Company was the largest mill doing this.

From 1862 on large quantities of top clothing were being made for the State by new companies starting up since the war. Young, Wriston and Orr of Charlotte; Hughes and Best of Salem, and Howard and Beard of Salisbury were turning out thousands of uniforms a week.

It is not clear from the records at what expense the State carried on these activities. The expenditures of no one year can be called typical, especially with such radical variations in the currency, but those for 1863 being available, they are given for what they are worth.<sup>40</sup> The Confederate government paid the State \$6,008,373 for clothing received during the year and owed \$1,247,235 more for the first quarter of 1864. Jonathan Worth, state treasurer, said that while it was maintained that goods were sold by the State at rates reimbursing the treasury that he had no data showing it. "It [the Quarter Master's Department] drew from this department during the last fiscal year more than half a million more than it reimbursed—and at the same time had the benefit of importations by the Advance, bought on credit in Europe."<sup>41</sup>

However, over a year later, Vance, commenting on the Quarter Master's report said that while it had not been the aim to make

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<sup>39</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, Vol. 5, pp. 463-481.

<sup>40</sup> *Legislative Documents*, 1864. Document 1. accompanying governor's message. Adjutant General's Report for the Quarter Master's Department, p. 27.

<sup>41</sup> Worth, letter to editor of *Charlotte Democrat*, Dec. 25, 1863. Letters, V. 1, p. 277.



money but to supply the people and army for cost, "From this [report] it will be seen that not only have the army and the people been supplied with indispensable articles without loss, but with actual profit to the State."<sup>42</sup>

Of more immediate interest to the main subject, however, are the official steps taken from the fall of 1862 on to keep the manufacturers of cotton and wool under the control of the State.

### III

In 1861 the thirty-nine cotton mills in North Carolina were supplying only a fraction of the goods used. By the end of 1862 there was being produced within the State enough to meet the general needs, to supply a large quantity to the army, and considerable amounts to other Southern states.<sup>43</sup> By the last year of the war, De Bow says<sup>44</sup> the Confederate government was drawing most of its supplies of cotton goods from North Carolina and had contracts with factories in the State to furnish enormous supplies of woolen goods. The cotton cloth for civilian use, for soldiers' shirts and underwear, for linings of uniforms, for tents and oilcloth, for hospital use, was made almost entirely by the mills already existing when the war began. A few mills enlarged and fewer were started up, but the number was negligible.<sup>45</sup> Woolen goods through the blockade supplemented that manufactured in the State, but the sheetings and cotton yarns, (the latter so important as a medium of exchange,) were the products of the native mills.

If the files of the Quarter Master's Department are complete, there was almost no cotton goods being sold directly to the government by the mills during the first few months after the former embarked on its program of clothing the troops. There is a bill from the Yadkin Manufacturing Company, dated October 23, 1861, for \$3,350, principally for kerseys, jeans, and sheetings; and the Fries' mill had been selling its products (practically all wool) to the State

<sup>42</sup> *Legislative Documents*, Sess. 1864-65. Document 1, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, V. 5, pp. 463-481.

<sup>44</sup> *De Bow's Commercial Review*, V. 3, No. 1, p. 90.

<sup>45</sup> A letter in the Quarter Master's files from Caleb Phifer of the Rockeriver Mills says: ". . . This machinery (second hand) was first put to work about the commencement of the war. The geering was made roughly at Charlotte, N. C. The findings has been picked up in the State."

Stanley Causey (Jamestown) wrote Nov. 2, 1863 that a factory was being fitted up. The equipment was moved from Virginia.



from the first.<sup>46</sup> The governor declared in November "that our State is in absolute want of cotton goods, especially domestic cloths for the use of our volunteers. . . ." <sup>47</sup> The quarter master was authorized to make contracts with the various cotton factories and an appeal was sent out by Clark addressed to "the Proprietors of Cotton Factories in N. C.," <sup>48</sup> asking them to break contracts with private buyers and to sell to the government "at prices equally remunerative." The combination of a veiled threat "to resort to more stringent measures to obtain that supply," and "the confident expectations" that their patriotism and "zeal in the good cause" would make such measures unnecessary, seemed to have exerted the desired pressure. At least it was sufficient for the time and until rising prices complicated the government's plans.

As was to be expected there was widespread speculation which withstood the repeated attempts to curtail it. In December 1861 there was a state law passed against monopoly and extortionate prices.<sup>49</sup> The following month, Holden's *Standard* was throwing its influence in the same direction:

Before the war spun cotton was selling at from 90 cents to \$1.10 per bunch, and ordinary cotton cloth at 8 to 10 cents per yard. Now the former is \$1.75 to \$1.90 per bunch, and the latter 20 to 25 cents. We are glad that the factories are still able to turn out these fabrics, and we know that all the materials they use, except cotton, are much higher than formerly; but then cotton can be obtained at 7 to 8 cents per pound, and labor is cheaper than heretofore. Under these circumstances, it seems to us that thirty to forty per cent, on former prices, would be a fair profit for the manufacturers; as it is, more than 100 per cent is paid by the people for these fabrics before they reach them through the merchant. . . .

A similar article appeared in May shaming the manufacturers for exorbitant prices.<sup>50</sup> The Holts' letters commented on the unfair attacks the papers had been making on cotton manufactures but did not deny they were making exceptional profits.

<sup>46</sup> Letter in Quarter Master's files, Nov. 18, 1861.

<sup>47</sup> Clark's Executive Papers (Mss.), Nov. 6, 1861.

<sup>48</sup> Copy is found in Clark's Letter Book, dated Nov. 6, 1861, p. 19.

<sup>49</sup> Executive Papers of Henry T. Clark, Nov.-Dec., 1861. This law was ratified Dec. 14, 1861.

<sup>50</sup> "North Carolina Factories" *Standard*, May 21, 1862.



Among the acts of the Confederate Congress calculated to promote industry was one passed April 21, 1862<sup>51</sup> exempting from military service specified persons, among them being superintendents and operatives in woolen and cotton factories. In a penitent mood for being too generous Congress repealed this law in October 1862, substituting one which carried a heavy penalty for speculative selling. Instead of a blanket exemption for cotton mill managers and employees, one article of this bill provided that these persons should be exempted "Provided, the profits of such establishments shall not exceed seventy-five per centum upon the cost of production, to be determined upon oath of the parties. . . ." <sup>52</sup> Any mill <sup>53</sup> which "violated, or in any manner evaded the true intent and spirit of the foregoing proviso" forfeited exemption of its superintendent and operatives and "each and every one of them shall be forthwith enrolled under the provisions of this act, and ordered into the Confederate army," never to be exempted again.

Before the ratification of this act, word was sent out by the state authorities asking the manufacturers to accede to these terms. Vance in his message of November 17<sup>54</sup> commented on the improved prospects of obtaining sufficient cotton cloth at reasonable rates and commended the several mills which had expressed their willingness to accede to the terms of the exemption law. "We may reasonably hope that most of the other mills in the State can be induced to do likewise. The woolen factories seem more incorrigible."<sup>55</sup>

By the time of Vance's remarks there had been at least ten acquiescing replies: from Rockfish, Fayetteville, Blount's Creek, Beaver Creek, Manchester, Powell and Shufford's, Patterson's, T. R. Tate's, Saxapahaw, and E. M. Holt's. George McNeill wrote for the Blount's Creek Factory: <sup>56</sup> "We are disposed to let the State and Confederate governments have half or three-fourths of the goods we make at 75 per cent, say about 25 ct for sheeting and about 30 ct for Osnaburgs—provided they will let us retain our hands . . .

<sup>51</sup> *Public Laws of the Confederate States*, 1st Congress, 1st Session, Chap. 72, pp. 51-52.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 45, Oct. 11, 1862.

<sup>53</sup> This applied to other important industries as well as to textile factories.

<sup>54</sup> *Public Documents, Session 1862-63*, Document No. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Doubtless Vance had Fries' mill in mind when he made this little cut. It furnished indispensable material to the State quite regularly, but was usually a little wordy over too much meddling by the authorities. The letters from Vance to Fries and the answers are valuable for the insight they give into the subtleties of coercion and the protests at being caught in a situation.

<sup>56</sup> Quarter Master's Records, Letter, October 28, 1862.



and dispose of the balance of our goods as we choose—we can't control the market—"

The final agreement was hardly so liberal when representatives of four of the mills near Fayetteville met to discuss the proposal. Mr. Hall of Beaver Creek did not attend, though he soon agreed to what the others settled on. The Cross Creek and Union mills had no part in the discussions supposedly because they made only yarn, and according to McNeill, they did not propose to pay any attention to the conscript act.<sup>57</sup> John Haigh, president of the large Rockfish Company stated that "The conclusion arrived at by those present was to furnish to the State  $1/4$  or even  $1/3$  of the produce of the Mills, say  $4/4$  sheetings at 30 cts per yard, and I presume other goods at corresponding rates—provided we are called upon for no greater proportion than other Cotton Manufactories of the State." In return they expected their operatives to be exempted. "In reducing the price of goods to the Government, it was not agreed to extend the arrangement to other purchasers—nearly all our goods are sold to go out of the State."<sup>58</sup>

John Shaw of the Fayetteville Mills, while tentatively agreeing to these terms at the meeting, did not commit himself until the stockholders had met and agreed.<sup>59</sup> John Newlin wrote from Saxapahaw that for a year already the government had been getting more than the quantity now asked— $2/3$  to  $3/4$  of all his sheetings—and that he was willing to continue at such prices as might be fixed, though he was already selling to the State at 5 to 15 per cent below market prices.<sup>60</sup>

T. R. Tate of Charlotte was willing to furnish his jeans, sheetings and osnaburgs at whatever price other factories were getting<sup>61</sup> and E. M. Holt agreed to the amount and terms stipulated, saying he had been furnishing the army  $4/5$  of his output of sheetings and osnaburgs.<sup>62</sup> Other mills responded more slowly, but by the next year practically every factory in the State was furnishing material to the quarter master.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, Letter, Oct. 30, 1862. McNeill again offers more than the amount asked for if the State wants it.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, Letter, Oct. 30, 1862.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, Letter, Nov. 1, 1862.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1862.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Letter, Nov. 7, 1862.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*



The result of the Confederate exemption law seems to have been a compromise—the mills agreeing to furnish a portion of their goods to the State at a set profit in return for exemption of managers and employees, and the right of selling the remainder of their output at what it would bring. A little later, this last *quid pro quo* of the manufacturers was taken away by state law and they were forbidden to take a higher profit from private buyers than they received from the government.

In December 1862 there was a convention of cotton and woolen manufacturers held in Greensboro. The action most commented upon which this body took was an agreement to lower prices. The *Standard* <sup>63</sup> says this step “is due, in a great degree to governor Vance, and to the prompt coöperation with him of Dr. Thomas D. Hogg of the Fayetteville factories.” This action cut prices considerably for the moment, but prices continued to mount. <sup>64</sup>

For the first time the mills were able to sell all they could make and more. In addition to what the government wanted and with former supplies shut off, there was a pressing demand for goods and yarn for use, for barter and for speculation. Manufacturers were aware of this, which kept them from being too grateful to the State for the market it offered. Letters to the quarter master, when he complained of high prices, spoke of how anxious people were for their yarn or sheetings and how much more other people were willing to pay. There were frequent complaints at being required to furnish the set amount to the State, as the following letters illustrate:

The demand for goods is so pressing that it is almost impossible so far to resist the importunity of buyers as to give the State the amount we have promised—yet we are determined to do so if you require it—but if the necessity of the State is not imperative, this section would be greatly benefitted if they could for a time get the whole proceeds of our mills. <sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Dec. 10, 1862. Joseph Newlin (Quarter Master's Records, letter dated Feb. 27, 1863) quotes the following as prices agreed upon:

Warp 7 & under	\$3.25
“ 8-10	3.50
“ 10-12	3.75
4/4 sheeting	35c

<sup>64</sup> In 1864 the State was paying \$48 a doz. for shirts it had paid \$8 for 2 years previously; sheeting, 20 to 24c in the spring of '62 was \$2 before the end of '64; and yarn had gone from \$2 to \$12, \$15 & \$20 by the summer of 1864.

<sup>65</sup> Quarter Master's Records. Letter from John W. Leak from Rockingham in Richmond County. Jan. 9, 1863.



John McDonald of the Concord mills,<sup>66</sup> in complaining at the quantity called for, wrote:

We are willing to do as much as any Factory for the Army But we think you are calling on us for more than our part. Did we not furnish more yarn than any other Factory according to our capacity. When you made the last call we agreed with your arrgt. to furnish 1000 Bunches provided you would not call on [us] soon again. If we expect to be cald so soon we would not have agreed to furnish that amount. . . . But if you make a requisition on us for all the yarn & cloth we make it shall be furnished to you. All we want is to be treated as others is.

Yarn became of more importance than cloth and the demand for it was tremendous. By 1863 Mills were supplying large quantities to the State to exchange for wool and woolen cloth, as well as for foodstuffs;<sup>67</sup> the Granite Mill was furnishing yarn to the County Court in Orange to exchange for corn for indigent families;<sup>68</sup> and all the factories were using a large proportion of their yarn to pay taxes or purchase cotton and provisions. At the end of 1863 W. H. Neal of Steel Creek Factory said his was the only mill selling yarn for money.<sup>69</sup>

The following two letters are typical and give an idea of the demand for yarn and its use as a common medium of exchange:

It is almost impossible *now* for a manufacturer to buy anything for money, Cotton Yarn is *always* required, and I have engagements out for wood (for winter use of my operatives), Hay for my stock, & some Cotton trades, & some Bacon. . . .<sup>70</sup>

John McDonald had been buying bacon for the government.

We suppose the Government will supply us with cotton or some article that will buy cotton as we cant buy it with money. We have bought Bacon for the last month with all the yarn we make after supplying Provisions to our hands. It is getting nearly as difficult to buy cotton with money as it is to buy wool.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Letter, Sept. 2, 1863.

<sup>67</sup> Quarter Master's Records contain numerous orders and bills for yarn designated for the purpose of being bartered within and outside the State.

<sup>68</sup> Quarter Master's Records. Letter of Thomas Holt. Dec. 4, 1863.

<sup>69</sup> Quarter Master's Records. Letter, Dec. 4, 1863.

<sup>70</sup> Quarter Master's Records. Letter from Thomas Holt. Sept. 15, 1863.

<sup>71</sup> Quarter Master's Records. Letter, Apr. 13, 1864.



Those in the community exchanging their produce for yarn wanted the latter not only for further exchange but to use in making home-spun materials, especially for warps for country jeans which the State wanted. A letter from near Rocky Mount <sup>72</sup> says:

You never saw such a cry for cotton among the women. It was bad before, and since Battle's Factory was burned it is much worse.

McDonald wrote from Concord:

We have at least 100 Women here every day for yarns (to say nothing of the men) and we cant supply not more than half of the women. And we only let one Bunch to the person.<sup>73</sup>

Thomas Holt writing the same month from another section of the State asked in a postscript that the quarter master send official orders for the amount of goods wanted "so as I can have them to tack up Monday morning. I look for about five hundred old women that day."<sup>74</sup>

Several manufacturers wrote of the prejudice in the community against them for not selling to private buyers, and in December 1863 there was word of people having broken in and taken yarn from William Edgerton, a former manufacturer, who had been charging exorbitant prices.<sup>75</sup>

Before the manufacturers had met in Greensboro to reduce prices, the commissioners of appraisement for North Carolina had recommended to the Assembly that all profits over seventy-five per cent be taken in taxes. Early in 1863 an act entitled *Revenue* was passed containing the following article <sup>76</sup> taxing ". . . every person or corporation manufacturing cotton or woolen cloth or a mixture of both, cotton yarn, leather, shoes, boots, flour, salt, implements of husbandry, wagons, wagon-harness, and all articles manufactured out of leather, clothing & iron, and every other person, who, as principle or agent for the foregoing articles, all net profits above seventy-five per cent upon the cost of production."

<sup>72</sup> Quarter Master's Records. Letter, Aug. 21, 1863.

<sup>73</sup> Quarter Master's Records. Letter, Sept. 2, 1863.

<sup>74</sup> Quarter Master's Records. Letter, Sept. 18, 1863.

<sup>75</sup> Quarter Master's Records. Letter, Dec. 26, 1863.

<sup>76</sup> *North Carolina Public Laws, Session 1862-63*, Chapter 53, Schedule B, article 86, item 19.



Even this drastic measure was not effective against speculation, and on the whole the matter of keeping prices of cotton products down was a rather impossible one, with the mills wanting to take advantage of their first real opportunity to make their business pay and the State putting one weight after another upon them trying to delay the inevitable rise in prices. There was no way to suppress prices of yarns and sheetings for long with other prices going up and the currency down. Also there was such a clamorous demand for their products that the factories could afford to be more independent with the State than the law allowed. A letter from J. McDonald & Son says:

We will charge from this date 37½c per yard for 4/4 sheeting. If you are willing to pay that price please inform us and in case we dont hear from you will not send any more.<sup>77</sup>

Of course Quarter Master Dowd paid it and soon was paying as much and more to other factories. Murray & Bros. after saying other factories were receiving more and that the Virginia agents had offered him \$30, wrote: "We cannot sell you any more yarns for less than \$15 nor will we agree to furnish you a large amount at that price."<sup>78</sup>

Other letters complaining of failure to make their legal profits<sup>79</sup> frequently referred to others who were anxious to pay more for their goods than the State was. Correspondence was kept in progress complaining of what was charged by this mill or that, and answers were ready to justify because of heavier expenses. The fact that there was no way of arriving accurately at costs, and that costs were found to be quite different in different mills due to variations in estimates, equipment or management, meant there was unavoidably a higgling between the quarter master and the manufacturers. There are a few references in letters from the larger mills to the price at which the stockholders decided to sell to the government. Not infrequently an impasse would be reached, as when Phifer was sure the actual cost of a bunch of yarn was \$15 while his profit would make it \$25, and Dowd was trying to stand firm against paying more than \$15.

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<sup>77</sup> Quarter Master's Records, Mar. 10, 1863.

<sup>78</sup> Quarter Master's Records, May, 1864.

<sup>79</sup> For examples see Quarter Master's Records, letters of Joseph Newlin, Feb. 27, 1863 and C. T. Haigh, Jan. 14, 1864.



But after such encounters or after rebukes for high charges, the manufacturer usually ended by accepting "the same treatment as others were getting" and the quarter master by paying the price asked. In some cases it became practically a matter of paying what was necessary and asking what the State would pay. This was not the case generally, though, and while a higher price asked by a nearby mill would influence what another factory would charge,<sup>80</sup> there was a remarkably wide range of prices till the end of the war.<sup>81</sup>

#### IV

There were difficulties other than those of prices with which both manufacturers and the State had to contend. There were freshets, droughts and fires; epidemics broke out among employees; machinery wore out and there was need for belting, card clothing and sperm oil. The matter of paying the mills was a problem as money became more and more worthless. Checks on the Bank of North Carolina usually could not be collected in towns any distance from Raleigh, and money was usually wanted by express. This was of considerable inconvenience, especially when much of the cash was wanted in small denominations to pay employees. The mills had to barter goods for most of their supplies while the State paid them in currency. There were protests against being paid in old currency; requests to be allowed to deliver quotas ahead so when paid in the old issue to be able to spend it before the new came in; and there were refusals to furnish goods till after a new issue was made.<sup>82</sup>

There was considerable difficulty in obtaining raw material at reasonable rates. The records do not show how generally materials were furnished by the State to the manufacturers, but not infrequent receipts were found from H. W. Fries in 1864 for over eight thousand pounds of wool received from Quarter Master Dowd to be manufactured for the State, and from Young, Wriston & Orr for materials

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<sup>80</sup> Quarter Master's Records. A letter from Murray & Bros. (May 1864) says: "We cannot sell any more yarn to the State at 12\$ pr. Bunch. 12\$ will not replace the raw material in a Bunch of Cotton and we are of the opinion it is less than any other factory in Alamance Co. is furnishing your yarns at. Mr. T. M. Holt & Mr. E. M. Holt told us they had been receiving 14\$ for sometime for theirs."

<sup>81</sup> Gray & Wilson sold yarn to the quarter master (delivered July 1864) at \$12, while Murray and several others were charging \$15, and McDonald, the Holts and others were getting \$20.

<sup>82</sup> Quarter Master's Records. See letters of Thomas Holt, Mar. 1, 1864; John McDonald & Son, March 12, 1864; Murray & Bros. May 8, 1864.



for the same purpose. Murray & Bros. in 1863 proposed to exchange their yarns for \$6.00 cotton and \$8.75 money. A letter from Newlin & Sons <sup>83</sup> requested the State to furnish raw material and take all the product, in order to avoid the difficulty of obtaining cotton save through speculators. The quarter master's records do not show whether this was done at that time, but a later report <sup>84</sup> comments on a large quantity of cotton which the State had bought which was delivered by Vance's order to Newlin's mill at Saxapahaw, to make cloth and yarn for the quarter master to barter in Virginia for leather.

There were several instances of certain types of product being required by the quarter master. J. McDonald in April 1862 referred to beginning to make duck according to Devereux' orders, and it seems sewing thread was made by several mills only at a special requirement, and then none too willingly.<sup>85</sup> But in general the government's needs were supplied by the ordinary products of the factories, the most important being sheetings and yarns.

The amounts furnished the State were roughly determined as one third of the output, but this practice varied from factory to factory and was different at different times. A number furnished their entire output, and some who began with one third continued to supply the same quantity even when stoppage meant the amount sold to the government was a larger proportion of their products. The most common amounts by far were 50 bunches of yarn a week, and approximately 2,000 yards of sheeting. The irregularity of production and of sending in the quotas and bills makes it difficult to compare amounts furnished in 1864 with those in 1862 and 1863. However, the supply kept up rather well, though there is nothing to show how the proportion which the government contracts made of the whole output varied. It is practically certain that the total production decreased and that the quantity sold to the government became a greater proportion of the total.

The legal arrangements for control fell short of being satisfactory in most respects, but in the crisis they did carry out the state policy

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<sup>83</sup> Quarter Master's Records, Nov. 1863.

<sup>84</sup> *North Carolina Regiments*, V. 1, p. 33.

<sup>85</sup> Quarter Master's Records, May 17, 1862. Wm. Battle wrote from his Rocky Mount factory re sewing thread: "I cannot obligate myself to furnish any specified quantity. As I explained to you, the manufacture of the sewing thread keeps some of my machinery standing & 2 or 3 hands idle."



of getting all the goods needed from the mills as quickly and cheaply as possible.

While interest and activity in cotton manufacturing were greatly stimulated by the war, the situation did not encourage a real expansion of the industry at the time. No doubt this was partly due to having profits held below those offered in highly speculative enterprises, especially blockading, but more directly to the fact that there was practically no way to equip new mills. Six factories were burned during the war, others were literally worn out, and as many so run down that their goods were not salable. Some were sold very cheaply after the war, and some could not find a buyer at any price. However, most of them kept running or soon resumed operations, and in 1867 there were 33 in active use,<sup>86</sup> only 6 less than the number for 1860.

In spite of the actual retrogression of cotton manufacturing following the deterioration of technical equipment, the Civil War and Reconstruction dashed men's faith in a predominantly agricultural society, and turned their attention and energies toward manufacturing in such a thorough-going fashion that within the decade marked expansion had begun in cotton spinning, and by 1880 people were speaking extravagantly of an industrial revolution.

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<sup>86</sup> Branson's *Business Directory*, 1867.



# BENJAMIN HAWKINS AND THE FEDERAL FACTORY SYSTEM<sup>1</sup>

BY GEORGE D. HARMON

On August 15, 1754, Benjamin Hawkins<sup>2</sup> was born in what is now Warren County,<sup>3</sup> North Carolina. He was educated at Princeton, but during his senior year he withdrew from the institution to join Washington's staff to aid in the cause of the American Revolution. His knowledge of French caused the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army to make the North Carolinian his interpreter. But the young and ambitious student, now warrior, did not thus limit his activities, but took part in the military campaigns of the war, especially in the battle of Monmouth.

After the passing of several months, Hawkins returned to North Carolina, and in February, 1779, "the State commissioned him as agent to obtain, at home and abroad, supplies of all kinds for the prosecution of the war, including arms and ammunition, blankets, hats, clothing, tent cloth, corn, salt, pork, etc." <sup>4</sup> He was instructed to visit various European countries in the prosecution of his mission but he only got as far as the West Indies. His efforts to import the needed articles were not crowned with marked success, but, in 1780, he imported 878 stands of arms from St. Eustatia.<sup>5</sup> Hawkins had to face many obstacles, for the out-come of the Revolution was still uncertain; therefore, he could not purchase a large quantity of supplies on the faith of the State. He said: "I could not procure anything on the faith of the State, or by barter for provisions or tobacco, as was expected." <sup>6</sup> At home Hawkins was similarly employed, and his efforts were crowned with a fair degree of success.

Benjamin Hawkins also played an important rôle in a legislative capacity. He was elected to the North Carolina Assembly in 1778,

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<sup>1</sup> The factory system was composed of several trading houses or stores in which the United States government kept large quantities of goods and supplies, for the purpose of furnishing the Indians with the merchandise they needed and desired. These commodities were to be sold to the Indians at cost or exchanged for furs at fair prices, thereby gaining their friendship and confidence. The President was authorized by law to appoint agents or clerks for each establishment, whose duty it was to sell the goods to the savages and receive their articles of trade and to dispose of the same.

<sup>2</sup> His parents were Philemon and Delia Martin Hawkins, a prominent North Carolina family.

<sup>3</sup> Warren County was formerly Granville and later Bute.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins*, in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, Vol. IX, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* See *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XV, p. 337.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*



1779, and in 1784.<sup>7</sup> In 1781 he was elected to Congress, and he continued to represent the State in that capacity until 1784. In 1786 and 1787<sup>8</sup> he was again selected to represent his State in Congress. In December, 1789, Samuel Johnston and Benjamin Hawkins were selected by the North Carolina legislature to represent the State in the United States Senate. Hawkins drew the long term, and served until 1795, when he was succeeded by Timothy Bloodworth.

In 1796, President Washington appointed Hawkins the federal agent among the Creeks and general superintendent of all the Indian tribes south of the Ohio River. For this position he was well qualified. He had served previously on various commissions to negotiate treaties with the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, thus acquiring an understanding of the red men.

With his appointment as superintendent, he became profoundly interested in the Indians and made a thorough study of their needs. He spent the rest of his life among the southern tribes, and, thanks to his foresight, he recorded most of his experiences and transactions in writing.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM

The United States became interested in the fur trade with the Indians very early in its history. This was only natural because it is the duty of a government to look after the interests of the Nation and its people. It was to the interest of the people of the United States to promote trade with the Indian tribes. To do this successfully it had to win the friendship of the Indians and to eliminate foreign competition. In the northwest the British had a monopoly of the Indian trade; they also had the faith and confidence of the red men; and they doubtless wished to keep this valuable trade for themselves. In the southwest Spain was the dominant factor. Spain largely controlled the Indians and their trade and devised schemes to promote this trade and friendship at the expense of the United States. During the period from 1783 to 1795 both Great Britain and Spain met with continued success in their endeavors to dominate the Indians. They succeeded not only in largely controlling the Indians, together with their trade, but they almost succeeded in alienating the northwest and southwest from the United States.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 585; Vol. XVII, p. 872.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>9</sup> See his writings on *Creek History* in the *Georgia Historical Collections*, Vol. III, part I.



The United States government, however, had no intention of surrendering the lucrative trade and priceless territory without a struggle. The American diplomats busied themselves in trying to open up the Mississippi River and to eliminate the British from the northwest. The Secretary of War engaged himself in the difficult task of winning the friendship of the Indians and directing their trade to the United States. In 1786 Congress passed an ordinance which divided the Indian department into two divisions with a superintendent for each, charged with the duties of granting "licenses to trade with the Indians,"<sup>10</sup> and foreigners were forbidden to trade. By the act of 1790, the licenses were granted for two years and the clause preventing foreigners to engage in trade was omitted.<sup>11</sup>

In an attempt to control the Indian trade, a treaty was negotiated with the Delaware tribe, September 12, 1778. It stipulated that the government should supply the Delaware tribe with goods from time to time, "as far as the United States may have it in their power, by a well regulated trade, under the conduct of an intelligent, candid agent, with an adequate salary, one more influenced by the love of his country, and a constant attention to the duties of his department by promoting the common interest, than the sinister purpose of converting and binding all the duties of his office to his private emolument."<sup>12</sup>

The treaty made at Fort Harmar in 1789 between Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, and the northwestern tribes, provided specifically for the opening of trade with Indian tribes of that region. "Trade shall be opened with the said nations, and they do hereby respectfully engage to afford protection to the persons and property of such as may be duly licensed to reside among them for the purpose of trade, and to their agents, factors, and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at their towns, or at their hunting camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with license for that purpose" by the proper officials.<sup>13</sup>

In 1789 the United States negotiated a treaty with the Wyandots and Delawares, in which new trading posts were created. The fed-

<sup>10</sup> R. B. Way, "The United States Factory System for Trading Purposes, 1796-1822," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. VI, p. 223. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 311, 326 ff., *Ibid.* Vol. XIX, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 326 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Kappler, *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 3-5.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.



eral government was given a section of land six miles square at each trading post for trading purposes, except at Fort Michilimackinac, which section was twelve miles square.<sup>14</sup>

In 1789 there was considerable effort on the part of Congress to increase the standing army to 5,040 strong, largely for the purpose of protecting the American fur trade and to be ready for a possible war with the Creeks. It was asserted that the trade with the far off Choctaws and Chickasaws could not be developed and maintained without troops and it was proposed to establish a line of military posts on the southwestern frontier.<sup>15</sup>

The Creeks were carrying on a trade estimated at 10,000 pounds sterling with the Spanish and English traders, whose trade with the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws, in addition, was far from negligible. Naturally, the United States wanted its share of the trade. It was estimated also that the amount of European goods annually consumed was about 12,000 pounds sterling, furnished principally by the commercial house of which McGillivray, the Creek leader, was a partner.<sup>16</sup>

In order to preserve the attachment of the several Indian nations bordering upon the United States, the federal commissioners to the Indians in the southwest said that it was expedient for some adequate means of supplying them with goods and ammunitions at moderate prices should be immediately adopted. It was therefore suggested that Indian commerce should be established by the supreme authority of the United States. This would be part of the duty imposed upon the superintendent, agent, or commissary of Indian affairs in the Southern department. "The superintendent, agent, or commissary, by going through the Indian towns of all the different nations, would be able to collect such information as might be extremely useful in forming definite plans of trade with those people; and in case of war with the Creek Nation, he might be of solid advantage in bring [ing] the Choctaws and Chickasaws to cooperate with the United States."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 60-78.

<sup>16</sup> McGillivray was a partner of Panton, Leslie and Company. It was a company of British traders at Pensacola, Florida, which received protection by the Spanish colonies. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 15. See A. P. Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1789-1793," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 297.

<sup>17</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 79.



In 1789 the United States attempted to negotiate a treaty with the Creeks to offset the influence of the opposing nations, and to attract the lucrative trade to the United States. A secret article was proposed for that purpose. It seemed to be well understood that the trade was almost exclusively in the hands of Panton and Leslie, who by agreement, made their importations of goods from England into the Spanish ports.

As the trade of the Indians was one means of their political management, it was therefore obvious that the United States would not possess any security for the performance of treaties with the Creeks while their trade was liable to be interrupted or withheld at the caprice of two foreign powers. Hence it became an object of real importance to form new channels for the commerce of the Creeks through the United States. But such an arrangement would require time, for the established channels of trade could not be broken suddenly. In the light of these facts, the United States proposed in the secret article of the treaty to let the commerce pass through the usual Spanish channels until 1792, but after that time the trade would be directed through the ports of the United States. Goods to the amount of \$60,000 would be allowed to pass through these ports, duty free.

After much effort the federal officials interested McGillivray in the proposition sufficiently to induce him to visit New York for the purpose of negotiating a treaty. As soon as the Creek delegation arrived at the federal capital, President Washington appointed Secretary Knox commissioner to negotiate the treaty.<sup>18</sup> On August 7, the agreement was reached and signed by the chiefs. Subsequently, the chiefs shook hands with the President and "a song of peace concluded this highly interesting, solemn and dignified transaction."

There were both public and secret articles in the treaty, and they were sufficiently attractive to ensnare the brilliant Creek leader. The public articles related to the boundary, trade, and annuity to the Creeks. The Creeks ceded the disputed Oconee lands. The clause relating to trade provided that no trader without a United States license should be permitted to visit the Creek towns within the limits of the United States. While the annuity promised in the treaty was supposedly a remuneration for the cession of land, actually it

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<sup>18</sup> Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 25-28.



was a price for peace as a substitute for war—the Creeks had been quite hostile. In addition to the question of permitting the Creeks to import a certain quantity of goods free from duty, the secret article also stipulated that in case of war between Spain and any other power that McGillivray would be made the commissioned agent of the United States to the Creeks, with the rank of brigadier general at a salary of \$1,200 a year.<sup>19</sup> It seemed as if Spain and Great Britain might go to war at this time because of the Nootka Sound controversy which was then raging. That was the chief reason for the acceptance of the treaty of New York by McGillivray.

While the treaty of New York in 1790 and the French Revolution, which was soon to lead all Europe into conflict, marked the beginnings of the downfall of Spanish trade in America, the federal authorities wanted to continue a policy of friendship in order to win completely the Creeks from the influence of Spain. In 1792 a great drought ruined the Creek Indian corn crop and famine threatened their country. The United States responded liberally to their cries by sending them a supply of goods, corn, and money, estimated at \$13,314.61. The federal agent informed the Creeks that if additional supplies were needed it would be sent.<sup>20</sup> It would not be just, perhaps, to say that the only motive of the federal government was selfish and economic, but the federal officials were doubtless thinking of the Creek trade at the time.

As we have seen, the United States government was very persistent in its efforts to win the support of the Indians. It negotiated treaties and granted enormous annuities; officials offered kindness, threats, promises, presents, food and allowed only licensed traders to go among them. Gradually, because of the governmental policy and the European situation, the federal government won them over. Taking a lesson from Panton and others in Florida, the British in the northwest, and from the early colonial policy,<sup>21</sup> the authorities at the capital decided to open a store on the St. Mary's River<sup>22</sup> for the purposes of trade. The government hoped to attract the Creek trade to the store by selling them cheaper and better goods than they

<sup>19</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 80.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 559-60.

<sup>21</sup> Public truck-houses were established during the colonial days by Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina for the purpose of promoting trade with the Indians.

<sup>22</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 496-97.



could purchase from Pantón, and by giving them more for their skins and furs.<sup>23</sup> The experiment had a rather sad history. The men who kept the store were killed by the Indians and the goods were carried away into the Indian lands.<sup>24</sup>

But the United States government was undaunted. President Washington sent a message to Congress in the same year (1794) requesting that Congress pass a law which would authorize the government to establish trading houses among the Indians.<sup>25</sup> When we consider that the relations of the United States and Spain were strained at this particular time, and that the federal government was eager to eliminate the Spanish and English as its rivals among the Indians, there is little doubt that the factory system grew out of this strained situation. But we should remember that probably the United States got its cue from the Spanish and British traders who kept stores for the purpose of supplying the Indians. It is also probable that the American government profited by the experiences of the British colonies. Could the government carry on this trade without loss or profit and beat the foreign merchants at their own game? The government was apparently willing to attempt it.

The request of President Washington met with an enthusiastic response in the House of Representatives. The report of the House committee read: That, in their opinion, "it would conduce to the honor and prosperity of the United States to cultivate peace with the Indian tribes. It appears . . . that the establishment of trading houses, under the direction of the President of the United States would have a tendency to produce this laudable and benevolent effect. From the best information the committee could obtain, they are induced to believe a sum, not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars would answer the purpose." It was proposed that the materials for trade be purchased by an agent or agents and sold at such posts as might be the most convenient for the several nations of Indians within the limits of the United States. The agents appointed were to receive stated salaries for their services. They were to take an oath or affirmation for the faithful discharge of their duties, and, moreover, were to be required to give bond and sufficient security for the due performance thereof. It should be the duty of the agents to make

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 524. See the report of the House Committee in response to the President's request to establish trading houses. *Ibid.*



up their accounts half yearly, and transmit them to the Secretary of the Treasury. This transaction, as specifically stated by the committee, was intended to win the affection of the Indians; therefore, it should not be the object of the government to profit thereby; "hence a stated price should be fixed on the articles to be sold, having regard to the profit or loss on the articles received in payment, in such a manner that, although nothing is to be made by the Government, the capital should be kept entire."<sup>26</sup>

The committee then recommended that one hundred thousand dollars be appropriated for the purpose of carrying on trade with the Indian tribes.<sup>27</sup>

Thomas McKenny, commissioner of Indian Affairs, later stated that the purpose of the factory system was two-fold: to supply the savages with merchandise, and to protect them against the greed and avarice of traders.<sup>28</sup> It seems to the present writer that the commissioner's statement is only a half truth, for the factory system was primarily created with the hope of attracting the Indian trade to the Americans and to counteract the Spanish and British influences.<sup>29</sup> The new policy became a reality soon after the ratification of the Jay and Pinckney treaties. As we have seen, the system was under consideration in 1794. In 1796 Congress appropriated \$50,000 to purchase goods for the Indians, making a total of \$150,000.<sup>30</sup>

On April 18, 1796, Congress passed a law which was largely based upon the report of the House Committee of 1794. The President was given the power to establish trading posts or factories throughout the country for the purpose of carrying on an extensive trade with the Indian tribes. He was to appoint agents for each establishment, whose duty it was to sell goods to the savages and receive their articles of trade and to dispose of them. All employees or agents were compelled to take an oath not to engage in any trade, commerce, or barter with the Indians except on public account. If they were guilty of violating their oath, they were subject to removal

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 524.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> McKenny, *Memoirs*, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 496, 524.

<sup>30</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. I, p. 443. See also Washington's Message to Congress in 1795, in *Writings of Washington*, (Ford ed.) Vol. XIII, pp. 144-45.



from office and the loss of \$1,000. Brandy, rum, and whiskey were forbidden in these factories.<sup>31</sup>

There was to be no imperfect goods sold to the Indians. Prices charged for the goods were to be so regulated that they would cover the purchase price plus cost of transportation and salaries of agents. The goods placed in a trading house were for the Indians primarily but could be purchased by other persons at an advanced price, usually ten per cent.<sup>32</sup> The plan was to give the Indians goods at cost prices, thereby gaining their friendship and confidence.

The agents, according to the act of 1796, had to render reports quarterly to the Secretary of War for all goods and money passing through their hands. In the territories, the usual plan was for the agents to send all vouchers, abstracts, accounts, and estimates to the governor for examination, since he was ex officio superintendent of Indian Affairs;<sup>33</sup> then he in turn forwarded the reports to the head of the War Department. The act provided for these trading houses to remain active for two years.

#### TWO TRADING HOUSES ESTABLISHED

The Secretary of War reported on December 12, 1795, that the Six Nations were surrounded either by the settlements of the United States, or by the British of Upper Canada; and under such circumstances it seemed wise to exclude them from the experiment proposed in the factory system of commencing a trade on the principle of furnishing cheap supplies to the Indians, because the familiar intercourse between them and the whites would subject the public to continual impositions, against which there would be no checks provided.<sup>34</sup> The Indians north of the Ohio were also to be excluded from the projected trade because many of these tribes were still hostile to the United States, peace was only in the making, and they were therefore in no condition to participate in the proposed trade.<sup>35</sup>

It remained then, according to the reasoning of the Secretary of War, to make the experiment with the southern tribes, because the

<sup>31</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. I, pp. 452-53. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 140, footnote.

<sup>32</sup> *Indian Letter Book*, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 326-30.

<sup>33</sup> The most important acts relating to the trading houses after the one of 1796 were passed during the following years: 1800, 1802, 1806, 1809, 1811, 1822. See *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 141-43, 145-46, 402-04, 653.

<sup>34</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 583-84.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*



appropriation for this project was so small and because the undertaking was only experimental. Therefore, it was desirable to handle the matter in as inexpensive a manner as possible. The sum appropriated was divided unequally. More than two-thirds was destined for opening a trade with the Creeks to whom the goods could be conveyed by sea. The remainder was designed for the trade with the Cherokees and Chickasaws.<sup>36</sup> The remote situation of the Choctaws could render either of the two trading posts of but small and only contingent use to them.

To accommodate the Creeks, Colerain, on the River St. Mary's, was chosen because it was easy of access, there being depth of water for sea vessels, and it was conveniently near the Creeks, especially of the lower towns.

For the purpose of supplying the Cherokees and Chickasaws, it was supposed that Tellico Blockhouse, within the country of the Cherokees, would be a convenient station. It was a military post with a small garrison of regular troops. Protection would thus be furnished without an added military expense. The Indians had been accustomed also to resort thither for conferences and negotiations.<sup>37</sup>

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, the number of trading houses were considerably increased. These were scattered throughout the Indian country in the West and Northwest. The permanent fund was increased to \$300,000 to promote the project.

#### HAWKINS AND THE SOUTHERN FACTORIES

In 1796 Benjamin Hawkins was appointed superintendent of Indian trade south of the Ohio River. He reported favorably concerning the system in 1797. He recorded a conversation that he had with one of the Creek Indians of that year. The Indian had expressed much pleasure at the United States' commercial establishment; he said that he had visited it; that he had actually traded with it and had met such treatment as would induce him to go there for all that he should want in the future. Hawkins said: "I told him that Mr. [Edward] Price would make no difference in the price with the Indians or traders, that they would all fare alike";

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*



he replied he "had experienced it, as he mentioned many inconveniences attending the intercourse with the present establishment."<sup>38</sup>

Hawkins said that there was a begging spirit which manifested itself in every visit of the Indians, and that it must be crushed. "The annuity will be permanently paid and distributed," said the superintendent, "and the Indians must expect in all other cases . . . to apply to Mr. Price and obtain from him such articles as they want from public store, and that they are to pay for the same."<sup>39</sup> The Indians were to be taught the habit of working and paying for what they got at the public store.

Hawkins, October 23, 1797, ordered the following articles through the factory:

"I wish you to send me, by Whitaker 3 good blankets, . . . some thread and needles, binding, 2 kegs of spirits and anything that will make a load or two to buy provisions. I believe he [Whitaker] will have two spare horses. I want some nails, the spade, shovel, hand saw, drawing knife and grindstone. You will pay Whitaker 4 dollars a load, and I wish you to pay at that rate for anything you send me from time to time." This letter which was written to Price, and was sent by a man named Davis, who was to be "paid at the rate of \$10 a month from October 2nd until he returns with this letter, for bringing blacksmith's tools to the nation." The superintendent further stated, "Let him raise a small account vs. the Indian Department, and insist on it as a voucher."<sup>40</sup>

Colonel Hawkins was continually ordering things from the factories. In 1796 he sent Henry Wilson from Cusseta, Georgia, to the Tellico Blockhouse with eight pack horses to get a large supply of goods for the Creek Indians.<sup>41</sup>

When it came to recommending credit at the factories, Hawkins was exceedingly careful. In fact, he believed that the credit system should be discouraged lest it prove the ruination of the factory system.<sup>42</sup> In one of his letters to Price, he said: "Several applications

<sup>38</sup> *Georgia Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 85. To show how Hawkins supervised Indian trade it is only necessary to state that Christian Russell of Georgia applied to Hawkins for a permit to remove his hogs and other property to the Tellico Blockhouse to market. The request was granted. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-02.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201-02.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235-36.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.



have been made to obtain credit at the store, and to some of the applicants I have given letters, [of recommendation] but no assurances that they would on them, obtain credit.”<sup>43</sup> In spite of his precautionary methods, Hawkins occasionally recommended to Price that certain reliable Indian traders be given credit at the stores in order to encourage them to trade with the commercial houses of the United States. On November 16, 1797, he wrote the following letter to Edward Price introducing an Indian trader:

The bearer is Short Neck; he lives above this about thirty miles; he has a hundred cattle and some hogs; is careful and attentive, always attached to the United States, and deemed honest; he goes down with some skins and requests that I would introduce him to you. He has more skins than he carried down; he will give you the weight, and you may safely rely upon him. I have begun to draw on you for stipend; this may draw down a crowd. . . .<sup>44</sup>

Again when Hawkins introduced the son of Crook Neck to Edward Price, November 26, he said:

Aumihejee, son of Lauchejie, of Tallahassee, called on me for a letter to you; his father is called Crook Neck by our misnomers, and in that name I gave him a note to you. Lauchejie has 750 lbs. of deer skins, and 36 lbs. of beaver, which he takes down to you; his son, Auwihejee, and a black boy will accompany him. He leaves behind 200 deer skins and 30 or 40 small furs; these he will take down in the spring; for the value of these he wishes a credit till he can send them down.

The goods he wants are 6 pcs. Strouds, 1 pair white blankets and 1 pc. Duffels, 3 pair arm bands, 3 pair wrist bands, 2 pcs. petticoat linseys, 2 pcs. white linen for shirts, 2 pcs. black handkerchiefs, 203 pieces of callico, 1 piece striped cotton homespun, 1 piece negro cloth, 50 lbs. powder and 100 lbs. of lead, 12 cutteaux knives, 12 pair of cissars, ribband, binding, 1 lb. white thread, 100 needles, flints, paint, 2 or 3 scarlet blankets, 3 pcs. of romals, 3 pcs. coarse check or strip for shirts, 1 brass kettle, 7 baggs salt, 1 keg of brandy, broaches, ear bobs, beads, 1 fowling piece, 1 hat, a good one, black feathers; hatchets, axes, looking glasses.

I have taken the list down as the son named them; the father lives at Long Island, on this river, 35 miles above this; he is careful, an industrious man, not in debt, and [owns] seven negroes, good property,

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237. Hawkins was also able to secure the return of runaway slaves by offering bounties. *Ibid.*, p. 242.



and the old man does not drink, and is honest in the discharge of his debts; you will be safe in crediting him to the amount of skins and furs left at home and beyond that relying on the truth of this statement. . . .<sup>45</sup>

When the military authorities in the southwest became hostile to Edward Price they united against him to force his removal or resignation.<sup>46</sup> There was for the time being absolutely no coöperation between them. Finally, Price was forced to leave the factory as his personal safety was apparently in danger. During his absence, Hawkins selected Mathew Hopkins to manage the factory until the matter was settled.<sup>47</sup> Hawkins then took the opportunity to warn Hopkins of the danger of the credit system. He said:

In cases where the debtors don't bring peltry sufficient to discharge the debts already created, you would do well to take, in all cases, the pack horses and put the public brand on them, and limit them to a small credit until they extricate themselves. I am an enemy to credit, but it arose before my agency, in a mistaken policy, which, as I am informed, has been since sanctioned by the Secretary of War. I will sanction it only until the parties can extricate themselves . . . ; if you had given the credits you could regulate them, but this is not material and you would do well, as the peltries were purchased with goods on credit, to let them go to the balance of that debt.<sup>48</sup>

Hawkins then stated that he would let the traders in arrears have a small credit to extricate themselves, and running account of small things only. The peltries should go to the original debt, and the "remittance for the season should leave the balance for our future deliberation; these balances you will note particularly. I would advise you, by every exertion, to be prepared in aid of Mr. Price for the settlement of his accounts; he has had a very difficult task; the experiment was a new one and the source from which information was to be drawn was not sure."<sup>49</sup>

Price and Hawkins were even involved in the collection of mortgages<sup>50</sup> and money for Negro slaves. In regard to the collection of money for a Negro slave, Hawkins, on May 14, wrote:

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253. The above list of goods gives one an insight into the variety of goods carried by the trading houses.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.



I have, in virtue of a power of attorney from John Batts Bard, of South Carolina, sold to Thomas Marshall, of Coweta, a negro man, named Ned, for two hundred and fifty dollars, and on the payment of that sum into the U[nited] S[tates] Factory at Fort Wilkinson, and obtaining a receipt for the same from the principal, Mr. Price or either of the assistants there, acting for and on account of the said John Batts Bard, the receipt to be on the back of this instrument; then a complete title shall rest in him, the said Thomas Marshall and his heirs forever to the said negro Ned.<sup>51</sup>

It should be noted that all deals in regard to trade had to pass through the hands of Hawkins or Price. It made no difference whether it was a mortgage, a Negro slave, or a horse. The receipt of the money was vouched for in the presence of the government agent.<sup>52</sup>

In regard to money payments to the Indians, Hawkins wrote to the Secretary of War in November, 1797, as follows:

I have begun to divide the stipend for 1796 and 1797. I am not satisfied with the plan, but it is the best I could devise for the present. Each town appoints an agent and I give a draft in his favour as agent for the portion allotted to the town. The dividend will be small and perhaps it will give as much satisfaction this way as any other. I told the chiefs they ought to consider it as a fund . . . to enable them to do justice to those who faithfully exert themselves for the honour and interest of their country, . . .<sup>53</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The factory at Tellico Blockhouse and on the St. Mary's prospered during the agency of Benjamin Hawkins, and the success of these establishments caused the extension of the system between 1800 and 1812. The early success of the trading system was largely due to the unrelenting toil of the southern superintendent.

During the latter part of the second decade of the nineteenth century opposition to the federal trading houses began to appear in and out of Congress.<sup>54</sup> The private traders could not compete apparently with the government, and they proceeded to undermine the whole system.<sup>55</sup> It was a difficult fight but in 1822 the oppo-

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 313.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>54</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 553-54.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*



sition won, when the factory system was finally abolished. The act which abolished the system provided for the termination of the federal trading houses as quickly as possible.<sup>56</sup> The Secretary of the Treasury appointed a New York firm to sell the goods on hand at public auction.<sup>57</sup> The goods placed on public sale were valued at \$31,175.28, but they brought only \$10,795.22.<sup>58</sup> The immediate loss in winding up the Indian trade was estimated in 1824 at \$86,370.91. But the actual loss was many times that sum. If the money paid out in the form of salaries were included in the loss, the total loss would be \$535,356.<sup>59</sup> The loss on the capital stock alone was at least \$122,147.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, pp. 679-80.

<sup>57</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 536.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 541.

<sup>59</sup> *House Reports, 23rd Congress, 1st Session*, p. 12.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*



## AN EXPERIMENT IN LOUISIANA SUGAR, 1829-1833

BY RALPH B. FLANDERS

Farish Carter was an unusually successful man. He was, perhaps, one of the most versatile figures of ante-bellum Georgia. From his home at Scottsborough, a little village three miles south of Milledgeville, then the capital of the State, he conducted his various enterprises. In the various fields of industry his money and talents were felt. His slaves were counted by the hundreds, his acres by the tens of thousands. Most of the water power of the State was under his control, as well as the important river bridges and ferries. The early mining activities in Georgia were financed by him, and his capital played no small part in the construction of the first railroads. Certainly he was the leading capitalist of the State prior to the Civil War.

But there was one enterprise upon which the Goddess of Prosperity failed to beam. This was an experiment in Louisiana sugar. It is the purpose of this study to present briefly an account of this adventure; to describe its vicissitudes and fortunes; to present a few of the problems connected with the operation of a sugar plantation in the early thirties.<sup>1</sup>

Farish Carter was by no means unique in his great hunger for land. The southern planter was ever in search of new lands, and his quest carried him far beyond the boundaries of his native State. For a time the rapid expansion of the Cotton Kingdom consumed his major attention, but with the decline in the price of the staple, his interest in virgin soil and new staples increased. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 transformed the economic prospects of the United States in the same degree as the political destinies were affected. The region, already populated, was devoted to the plantation system, so much so, that the laws relative to the slave trade were evaded in order to bring in the necessary labor supply to tend the sugar plantations.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This study is based entirely upon a collection of letters and the plantation record of "New Hope," in the possession of Mrs. John R. L. Smith, Macon, Georgia. The writer is deeply indebted to Mrs. Smith for the use of these valuable unpublished manuscripts. For the activities of Farish Carter, see R. B. Flanders, "A Forgotten Man of the Old South" in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, June, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 165. For a treatment of the plantation regime in Louisiana see, Vernie Alton Moody, *Slavery on Louisiana Sugar Plantations*.



The successful experiments of a prominent Creole planter, Etienne de Boré, who received \$12,000 for his crop of sugar in 1796, inspired other men of enterprise to transfer their capital to the cultivation of that staple. Lack of capital, the wartime restrictions on maritime commerce, and the restricted area of cultivation did not prevent the rapid growth of the system. The San Domingan refugees, fleeing before the "Black Napoleon," poured in with what slaves and personal goods they were able to salvage from the wreck. Their familiarity with sugar culture added to the ease with which Louisiana was transformed into the chief area for its production.

Undoubtedly tales of the possibilities of this new country drifted back to the cotton states of the Atlantic seaboard, and fired the imagination of individuals there. Certainly we know that Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, responded in 1811, as he had done at an earlier date,<sup>3</sup> by carrying a large force of slaves to establish a sugar plantation at the head of the Bayou Lafourche,<sup>4</sup> and that others followed his example.

That same year a North Carolinian, prospecting for plantations in Louisiana, wrote a friend that "you cannot do better than coming over. . . . There are sugar lands I am told to be had very cheap." He added, however, that the establishments were quite expensive, particularly around New Orleans.<sup>5</sup> In 1817, the traveler Estwick Evans found the region around the city, extending as far as one hundred miles northward, in a high state of cultivation and described the plantations as "superb beyond description." Planters derived immense profits from the cultivation of their estates, with annual incomes ranging from twenty to thirty thousand dollars.<sup>6</sup>

Yet the planters were slow in coming. Since the War of 1812 cotton prices had been consistently good. Moreover, as Professor Phillips points out,<sup>7</sup> the industrial methods in sugar differed radically from those in other staples, while the predominance of a foreign language, the Roman Catholic religion, and a Creole social regime in the heart of the sugar producing section, made Anglo-Americans extremely cautious of entering. Before economic pressure such bar-

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<sup>3</sup> In 1799 Hampton moved from Tidewater South Carolina to the Piedmont and opened a cotton plantation.

<sup>4</sup> Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 166.

<sup>5</sup> U. B. Phillips, ed., *Plantation and Frontier Documents*, II, 197.

<sup>6</sup> Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 241.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.



riers receded. During the late twenties the tariff raised sugar rates at a time when cotton declined, thus causing many planters to shift to sugar. A great territorial spread resulted in the rapid increase of slaves and estates.

Carter was entirely too shrewd an individual not to have been cognizant of these changes.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps he was moved solely by the spirit of adventure. But whatever the cause, he decided in 1828 to try his hand at sugar, and expected to make money. To this end he purchased from Gov. Henry Johnson, of New Orleans, 800 arpents<sup>9</sup> of land, located in St. Mary's Parish, on both sides of the Bayou Salé, one of the three prominent streams emptying into Cote Blanche Bay, in the extreme southwestern part of Louisiana.<sup>10</sup> The whole parish was cut by innumerable inlets, and for the most part was covered by marsh land. The following year Carter signed a contract with an acquaintance, John Sherman Thomas, in which each agreed to furnish equally "good working hands, stocks, utensils, and implements necessary for cultivating sugar." Carter was to remain in Georgia, while Thomas and his brother, Greene Berry, were to act as superintendents, the net proceeds being shared equally between Carter and J. S. Thomas.<sup>11</sup>

With bills of exchange and drafts from Carter totaling \$10,000, Thomas set out immediately for Charleston to purchase the necessary slaves.<sup>12</sup> Toward the middle of November, 1829, his mission was completed, and he prepared to leave for New Orleans on the Brig, *Hunter*. "My purchase is the likeliest lot of negroes I ever saw together. I have one Tolerable Bricklayer and a Nice Cask Cooper. 18 men at \$440 and 4 women at \$350. I have insured them at \$500 for the men and \$400 for the women; round say, \$10,600." A skillful physician had examined the Negroes thoroughly, and Thomas' only regret was that he could not "get a few more young women."<sup>13</sup> All the Negroes were young: Joe, 27, Hercules, 27, Paul, 27, David, 20, Michael, 22, Martin, 21, Sam, 19, Jim, 22, Jim, 22, Plenty, 21, Syrus, 30, Fanny, 18, Hannah, 17, and Daph-

<sup>8</sup> This is an inescapable conclusion based upon a careful examination of thousands of Carter's letters and papers.

<sup>9</sup> An old French land measure, about 85 per cent of an acre. If this tract faced the water, it meant that each arpent was forty arpents in depth. See Moody, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> See Graham Tanner, *Map of Louisiana, 1834*, Library of Congress, Map Division.

<sup>11</sup> Contract dated Milledgeville, Georgia, Oct. 21, 1829.

<sup>12</sup> J. S. Thomas to Farish Carter, Oct. 31, 1829.

<sup>13</sup> *Idem.*, Nov. 14, 1829.



ney, 17. The remaining eight were not listed separately. The total insurance for the twenty-two was \$186, or about \$8.90 each, while the passage from Charleston to New Orleans was \$319—a total of \$505. From New Orleans to the plantation by steamboat cost \$21.00. As Thomas made no mention of plantation equipment in his letters from Charleston, it may be concluded that he intended to make the necessary purchases in New Orleans. Thus the “New Hope Plantation” began its unhappy career, an investment representing some \$50,000.<sup>14</sup>

Carter may have waited joyously for the first letters from “New Hope,” but with the passage of time they became messages of gloom and despair. The year 1830 opened inauspiciously, with most of the Negroes ill, an epidemic of influenza in the parish, no beds or clothes for the sick, and a most disagreeable season.<sup>15</sup> Greene Berry Thomas died the following year, and Carter purchased his small share in the plantation.<sup>16</sup> Matters grew worse, and misfortune tightened her hold on “New Hope.” John Sherman Thomas grew more despondent and his every letter begged for money and men.

Thoroughly exasperated, Carter dispatched his friend and neighbor, Atkinson, to investigate the situation. If Carter expected good tidings he was doomed to disappointment. Atkinson was able to muster little enthusiasm. The lands in the neighborhood of Bayou Salé were excellent, he grudgingly admitted, but “that is all you can say for the country,” he added. “It is certainly a miserable country for a man to live in. I do wonder the people do not all die. If it was not for the prevailing Gulph winds they could not exist.”<sup>17</sup> Conditions at the plantation were bad. For one thing, Thomas had gone in debt heavily for supplies, relying upon Carter to furnish the cash when necessary. “I find the planters of this country never purchase anything for cash,” Atkinson wrote with astonishment.<sup>18</sup> In 1833 the plantation was \$3,000 in debt, but a crop of fifty-nine hogsheads of sugar and three thousand gallons of molasses would retire a greater portion of this.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> In 1833 a fourth part of the plantation, equipment, land, and slaves sold for \$15,000. Some land and slaves had been added, however, since 1830. See *Inventory*, Feb. 12, 1833.

<sup>15</sup> G. B. Thomas to Carter, Jan. 29, 1830.

<sup>16</sup> This included 17 slaves, 15 arpents of land, 5 horses, 5 mules, 8 pair oxen, 1 lot sheep, cattle, 225 bbls. corn, 3,000 bundles fodder.

<sup>17</sup> L. Atkinson to Carter, Feb. 16, 1833.

<sup>18</sup> *Idem.*, Feb. 7, 1833.

<sup>19</sup> Atkinson wrote that sugar was around 5c per pound, molasses 17c per gallon.



The crop was harvested and Thomas went to New Orleans to receive the \$2,824.85 for the sugar and molasses. The losses were so heavy that Atkinson was satisfied that it would be to Carter's interest to sell the Negroes and let the land lie idle, or to try one more crop, and then abandon the project. He had received an offer of \$13,000 for the land, and as "negroes are selling high in this State at this time and it is generally believed that they will sell higher," that portion of the estate could be easily disposed of. His final observation was that "this is a miserable country for a man to be sick in, or even to be well in, for it is a complete swamp."<sup>20</sup> Possibly Atkinson's physical condition affected his appraisal of economic conditions.

Carter did not sell out, for the price of sugar went up, and the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies augured well for the future of sugar production in Louisiana. But "New Hope" belied its name. The superintendent, Martin Thomas, evidently a relative of John Sherman, wrote in June, 1833, that heavy rains had injured the corn crop, as most of it had been planted on low, wet land, but that the crop of peas would be immense. It was surprising to note that all the slaves were well, save one old man, "troubled with a severe pain over his left eye." The labor supply was insufficient to gather the cane, eight or ten men being needed. Moreover, although twenty-seven hogsheads were on hand from the previous season, Thomas intended having sixty more made.<sup>21</sup>

John Sherman Thomas, well aware of the true condition of the plantation, expressed a desire to sell his share of the estate to Carter, but that gentleman, weary of the whole affair, determined to dispose of the whole plantation. John Baker, of Franklin, Louisiana, was vested with power of attorney to sell all the Negroes and equipment, together with the land. This was to be done before the next crop, as a better price could be obtained.<sup>22</sup> In this manner the Louisiana holdings were sold.

Contrary to Carter's hopes, the affair was not settled. The attorney demanded and received a copy of the plantation expenses for the years of its operation, and many bills were outstanding. An

<sup>20</sup> Atkinson to Carter, Feb. 26, 1833.

<sup>21</sup> Martin Thomas to Carter, June 5, 1833.

<sup>22</sup> Farish Carter to John Baker, Esq., Aug. 14, 1833.



examination of the accounts revealed that Thomas had violated his agreement of 1829 in making disbursements at "New Hope." Incidental expenses were to be charged to Carter, the Thomas brothers were to act as overseers and superintendents, yet the large sums were charged to Carter, and overseer's wages were entered and paid. Carter flatly refused to pay these latter items, contested the other bills, and a lawsuit was narrowly averted.

Much of the mismanagement, and many of the misfortunes of "New Hope" may be appreciated from an examination of the plantation record. Light is thrown also upon many phases of plantation life and routine. Whiskey and rum was purchased in large quantities, and doubtless the slaves were given their ration in spirits to enable them to withstand the climate and ward off chills. But the expensive wines and brandies were not for slave consumption. John Sherman Thomas was clad in apparel of excellent quality, and demanded good food for his table.<sup>23</sup>

Evidently the Negroes at "New Hope" were clothed comfortably, and given a variety of wearing apparel. Large quantities of lindseys, osnaburgs, indigo checks, heavy shirting, and handkerchiefs were purchased, as well as black wool hats and double wool blankets. The forty-five pairs of russet brogans, costing \$62.88, suggests the number of working hands on the plantation in February, 1830.

From the large purchases of staple groceries it is clear that the plantation was not self-sustaining. Rice, beans, and salt pork were purchased by the barrel; lard, flour, corn meal by the keg and barrel; while coffee and "old and recent" whiskey gave zest to an otherwise monotonous diet. An occasional barrel of salt mackerel figures in the accounts, but always salt pork and whiskey. Doubtless vegetables were produced on the plantation, as was customary throughout the period.

Nevertheless this diet may have been a contributing factor to the constant illness on the place. Atkinson advised Thomas to take one-half quarter of fresh beef per week during marketing season as "it is also our sickly season," in order "to use less salt provision and to make soup for the sick," an idea that met with the approval of Thomas.<sup>24</sup> It is significant to note that the first item in the planta-

<sup>23</sup> See entries, June 1, 1830, July 10, 1831. A cask of claret was listed at \$28.00, while a half cask of Maderia was brought from New Orleans at a cost of \$25.12.

<sup>24</sup> Martin Thomas to Carter, June 5, 1833.



tion accounts was a bill of \$44.50 for medicines, obtained from Sheldon & Dixon, New Orleans druggists, and sole agents for "Doctor Davenport's Bilious Pills."<sup>25</sup> In all bills of this nature the following figured prominently: castor oil, spirits of turpentine, Epsom Salts, ipecac, tartar emetic, camphor, calomel, blistering plasters, sulphur, quinine, senna, laudanum, peppermint, hartshorn, salts of nitre, alum, rhubarb, magnesia, linseed oil, Seidlitz powders, soda, and pills of every kind. In ordinary illnesses the plantation manager or overseer would not hesitate to administer these drugs. In fact a medical book, listing various diseases and their symptoms, was an important volume in a planter's library. Dr. Clarke Nettleton, of Franklin, was engaged as plantation physician, being paid \$60.00 per year. It was customary then, as now, to postpone payment of such bills, for Nettleton's bill for \$229.65 was outstanding on March 18, 1833.

Second to food and clothing, plantation equipment bulked largest in the expenses of "New Hope." Hardware of every description was purchased, suggesting constant repair of machinery and buildings in progress. One bill alone, entry of May 5, 1830, amounted to \$168.94. The production of sugar and molasses constituted a heavy drain on the owner's finances. The cask cooper purchased at Charleston evidently did not supply the necessary barrels, for hogsheads were secured from other sources at an average cost of \$2.00 each.<sup>26</sup> In January, 1831, a forty-eight inch sugar kettle was purchased for \$54.00, while a sugar mill, costing \$1,000, was being paid for in installments.

In its earlier growth sugar cane did not demand the attention that cotton did. After the planting of fresh canes in January, the slave force was free to cut wood, clear ditches, repair equipment, and lay by food crops. But all early advantages of the staple were offset when the cane reached maturity, usually toward the last of October. Every Negro was busy, some cutting the cane, others hauling it to the mill, some feeding the fires, others tending the mill and boilers. Women and children were of little use, whereas they were extremely valuable in cotton production. Trained men were re-

<sup>25</sup> *New Orleans Argus*, Nov. 1, 1828, advertisement.

<sup>26</sup> Joseph Greaves was paid \$84.00 in August, 1832, for making 82 sugar hogsheads and four buckets. In December, 1831, G. W. Archer received \$78.75 for making 15 molasses casks.



quired in sugar production, and the owners of "New Hope" employed Theodore Domimie as sugar boiler for the crop of 1831, paying \$138.00 for his services. Carpenters were at work constantly on buildings, housing the sugar mill, and erecting storehouses for the staple. J. B. Chapman's bill for October, 1831, for constructing a sugar mill and other work, was \$105.00, while D. Watson charged \$260.00 for erecting a boiling house in the same year. It is impossible to answer the question as to what the plantation carpenters were doing. Possibly their services were more valuable in other capacities; perhaps they were unable to build satisfactory structures for sugar manufacture.

Factors at Franklin and New Orleans furnished "New Hope" with its supplies and handled the sugar and molasses crop, and their bills throw some light on the system in Louisiana. A typical account was that handled by Reynold Byrne & Company, of New Orleans. After twelve months standing, apparently, interest was charged for carrying the account. Certainly this was true in the case of the firm mentioned above. Interest amounting to \$1.86 was charged on a bill of blankets (\$52.02), past due one hundred and twenty-eight days. Cash might be advanced by a factor to meet certain needs of a planter. L. Richards drew a draft on Reynold Byrne & Company for \$170.00, as payment for horses, and the amount was charged to the "New Hope" account. The sugar crop for 1831, valued at \$3,780, was placed in the warehouse and drew interest to the sum of \$39.80.<sup>27</sup>

Many supplies were obtained from Livaudais & L. A. Charbonnet, dealers in hardware, ship chandlery, and general merchandise, and Palmer, Smith & Co., of New Orleans.<sup>28</sup> Other purchases were made from merchants at Franklin, as transportation from New Orleans was quite expensive.<sup>29</sup> Probably it would have been much wiser for Thomas to have made all his purchases from the former point.

Thomas was worried constantly with runaway slaves, and the expense entailed in their recovery was large. A bill, submitted by the sheriff in 1831, is interesting in this connection:

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<sup>27</sup> See financial statement of plantation, date March 19, 1832.

<sup>28</sup> *New Orleans Courier*, Jan. 10, 1831, advertisements.

<sup>29</sup> Freight on sundry goods purchased in New Orleans, June, 1831, amounted to \$112.37.



Apprehending 5 negro men @ \$10.....	\$ 50.00
Militia, 7 leagues @ 50c.....	3.50
Feeding, 1 day.....	1.25
Affidavits and Justices' costs.....	2.50
Commitments .....	5.00
This changed in French.....	13.75
Expense in getting negroes home.....	9.00
	<hr/>
	\$ 85.00

The previous year the Negro girl, Fanny, cost Thomas \$31.00 in advertising and jail fees, while the Negro man, Plenty, cost \$14.50. The latter named caused no end of trouble through his truancy. In 1832 he disappeared, and \$20.00 was spent in advertising for him. Finally he turned up in a distant parish, was jailed, advertised by the jailer, and Thomas was forced to send a lawyer, at a cost of \$120.00, to obtain the slave. The jailer's bill is as follows:

For subsistence of Plenty, 37 days.....	\$ 17.63
" turning Key in and out.....	2.00
" taking up negro.....	10.00
" mileage .....	15.00
" warrent .....	1.00
" advertising .....	16.00
" Doct Bill .....	10.00
" damages .....	33.00
" E. Sandford's charge for bringing.....	10.00
	<hr/>
	\$114.63

Thomas' violation of his contract by employing overseers affords some information on the wages of that functionary. Peter Gregory received \$156.92 for services as overseer from April 10 to August 10, 1831. For services as overseer and sugar boiler in 1832 Joseph Burwick was paid \$500, while Thomas Edwards, overseer for 43 days, received \$47.10. Martin Thomas netted \$200.00 for his services for a month and a half in 1833, and acting as one of the many attendants on the man, Plenty.<sup>30</sup>

Taxes and the traveling expenses of the Thomas brothers were no small items in themselves. In 1830, for example, State and parish taxes amounted to \$41.90, while the next year they had been in-

<sup>30</sup> Carter flatly refused to pay these items, preferring to go to law. The affair was compromised, but the Thomases were not paid for their services, as it was a violation of the contract.



creased to \$46.60, and to \$63.31 in 1832. John Sherman Thomas was a frequent visitor to New Orleans. While a certain number of visits were necessary, it is questionable as to whether or not all were for "plantation business." One such trip, February, 1833, cost \$36.75, and there were many others.

In comparison with rates in the old cotton belt, prices in Louisiana ran high, and it is small wonder that "New Hope" was financially embarrassed. There is little doubt but that its managers were inefficient in the discharge of their duties, and ill suited for the sugar industry. Perhaps Thomas would have been more successful in operating a cotton plantation. As part owner in the plantation he cannot be charged with intentional neglect, although the realization that his partner was very wealthy, well able to stand any losses, no doubt dulled his sense of responsibility. The sum total of expenses for the plantation was \$9,153.35, an average of \$3,051.12 for the three full years of its operation. As no figures are available for the production of sugar and molasses it is impossible to estimate the loss. However, if the sugar crop for 1831, which was valued at \$3,780, was an average, the establishment was hardly breaking even. When other items, which would be included by a modern business man, are considered, the plantation was operating at a definite loss, and Carter exercised wisdom in disposing of it. A member of the Agricultural Committee of the Parish of Plaquemines observed in 1830 that the income of sugar plantations was not equal to that yielded by other cultivations in other parts of the Union. "The decline of indigo and cotton culture [in Louisiana] caused the planters to go in debt to establish sugar plantations," he said.<sup>31</sup> At best, he added, the income of a sugar plantation in 1830 represented a return of about 8% on the real capital invested, while more frequently, it was around 3%.

Climatic conditions, sickness, industrial loss in runaways and financial loss in their recovery, ignorance, inefficiency—all conspired to ruin "New Hope." After his experiment in Louisiana sugar, Carter was satisfied to confine his agricultural activities to the rolling lands of Georgia, and "New Hope" became an unpleasant memory.

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<sup>31</sup> *New Orleans Courier*, Oct. 19, 1830.



# A BRITISH ORDERLY BOOK, 1780-1781

Edited by A. R. NEWSOME

## II

Sailed from New York in the Rising Sun Ye. 15<sup>th</sup>. of Oct<sup>o</sup>. 1780, Anchored under Staten Island this day.

Sailed from Staten Island Ye. 16<sup>th</sup>. Anchored under Sandy Hook.

Sailed from Sandy Hook ye. 17<sup>th</sup>. W: N: W: B[r]isk Gale Under convoy of the Romulus, the Blond, & the Delight Sloop of War- made the land N: of Cape Charles at 4 oClock on ye. Morning of the 19<sup>th</sup>. Inst. Anchored off the Cheaseapeake at 6 oClock this Night-

Weighed Anchor at 6 oClock ye. 20<sup>th</sup>. & stood off and on to Make the entrance of the River Wind N W: & by W: Made very little way weather Hazy- & likly to be bad. Anchored off the Cape (Charles)<sup>35</sup> at 9 oClock this W: NE- Hazy.

Oct<sup>o</sup>. 21<sup>st</sup>. W<sup>d</sup>. Anchor & Stood in the Cheaseapeake Bay- 7 oClock this Morn joined the Fleet & Stood up to Hampton<sup>36</sup> Bay.

22<sup>d</sup>. in ye. evening L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup>. Norton with 100 Gr. G<sup>ds</sup>. 100 82<sup>d</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>. & 100 Provincial L<sup>t</sup> Inf<sup>y</sup>- debarked from their respective transports for Portsmouth<sup>37</sup> to possess themselves of Public Stores Shipping &c.

23<sup>d</sup>. 4 M: Major DaPuis<sup>38</sup>, with 150 of Ye. Reg<sup>t</sup>. DeBose; 100, 82 & 84; 50 Yagers<sup>39</sup> were detached to Hampton for the Same purpose.

24<sup>th</sup>. both Parties returned without oposition & effected the purposes they were Sent on & procured two Pilots much wanted for James's River.

26<sup>th</sup>. at 8 oClock in the Morning the Whole Fleet got under way & Stood up for Portsmouth except L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup>. Howard, who was Detached with 2 Companies of the B: G<sup>ds</sup>. Fannings<sup>40</sup> Corps. & 100 of the 84 Reg<sup>t</sup>. up the Nancy Mon<sup>41</sup> River to Dislodge a Part of the Rebels & Seize on Some Publick Stores. The whole were intend to have disembarked this day but the wind proving unfavorable occasioned Many Ships to run on Shore- & by that News extended the G<sup>ls</sup>. Intentions.

<sup>35</sup> Cape Charles, on the northern side of the entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

<sup>36</sup> Hampton is located on the eastern side of the peninsula between York and James rivers.

<sup>37</sup> Portsmouth is across an estuary of James River from Norfolk.

<sup>38</sup> Johann Christian du Puy, who commanded the regiment von Bose at Guilford Court House. E. J. Lowell, *The Hessians and Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War*, 269.

<sup>39</sup> The Hessian Regiment von Bose. The Hessian regiments were usually named after their "Chefs." The Jagers were Hessian sharpshooters. E. J. Lowell, *op. cit.*, 265, 296, 298.

<sup>40</sup> Edmund Fanning, 1737-1818, was born on Long Island. He was an attorney in North Carolina, colonel of militia and register of deeds in Orange County, and a representative of Hillsborough in 1770-71, and of Orange County, 1762 and 1766-68, in the House of Commons. Having incurred unpopularity during the Regulator movement, he accompanied Governor Tryon to New York as his private secretary in 1771. In 1776 he raised and commanded a corps of loyalists, the King's American regiment. After the war he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia in 1783, governor of Prince Edward Island in 1786, major-general in the British army in 1793, lieutenant-general in 1799, and general in 1808. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy* II, 428-429; *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, 373-4.

<sup>41</sup> Nansemond River.



26. Lt. Col<sup>l</sup>. Stuart, with 150 G<sup>ds</sup>. & 30 Yagers were disembarked & Landed at the Glebe, in order to be Crossed over to Burnt Point & take possession of Great Bridge<sup>42</sup> as an advanced Post to the Army at Portsmouth. The Same day & at the Same time Major Barkley with Provincial Lt Infantry- under his Command & the 17<sup>th</sup>. Company under Cap<sup>tn</sup>. Coppege disembarked & Marched to Halls Mills to occupy that as an advanced Post Also which he took without opposition. Col<sup>l</sup>. Stuart not being able to reach y<sup>e</sup>. Bridge that Night Settled till 2 oClock Next Morn & then Marched to reconoiter the Post which he found filled up & defended by the Rebels who notwithstanding quitted by 12 oClock next day leaving one 4 Pounder behind them.

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. orders off Hampton*

As the Success of every Military operation principally depends on y<sup>e</sup>. regularity of y<sup>e</sup>. troops employed, and as Plundering of any kind Strikes immediately at y<sup>e</sup> Root of good discipline, Maj<sup>r</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. Leslie hopes that every off<sup>r</sup>. he has the honor to Command will use his utmost exertion to prevent that unsoldier like vice. The Gen<sup>l</sup>. desires the Commanding off<sup>rs</sup>. will make known to their Corps that no measure will be omitted that can tend to their comfort & advantage. That whenever fresh provisions can be procured a Sufft Quantity Will be Issued to them & that all Publick Stores taken during y<sup>e</sup>. expedition Shall be Lodged in proper hands that an equitable division May hereafter be made. The Gen<sup>l</sup>. begs the Soldiers May be warned that the most exemplary Punishment awaits any Men found marauding or any way trespassing against the Rules of good order and discipline; he flatters himself every off<sup>r</sup>. Must feel himself Sensible how Much his honor is concerned in a Strict Adherence to these orders. Serj<sup>t</sup>. ————— is app<sup>d</sup>. Deputy Provost Martiel. The Army are desired to give every Necessary assistance to him in the execution of his Duty.

B: O: The Cap<sup>tns</sup>. of the Brigade of G<sup>ds</sup>. are desired to Meet, on Board the Rising Sun at 8 OClock tomorrow Morning. A Return to be given in as Soon as possible to N B Colins of the off<sup>rs</sup>. as they are now posted to the different Companies.

Brigade orders 22<sup>d</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. off Sowell's Pt. *Rising Sun*. Lt. Col<sup>l</sup>. Howard is pleased to direct that the following regulation may take place on y<sup>e</sup>. day of Debarkation (If the Service will possibly Admit).

As Y<sup>e</sup>. present weak state of the Brigade in off<sup>rs</sup>. will not Allow of their being four Flank Companies, and as the other Companies can not possibly be officered without the reduction of y<sup>e</sup>. two late established Flank Companies, Lt. Col<sup>l</sup>. Howard is under y<sup>e</sup>. necessity of adopting this measure that the different Companies of the Brigade May be as equal & fit for Service as possible—Viz<sup>t</sup>—

<sup>42</sup> At Great Bridge near Norfolk there was a battle in December, 1775. S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina*, I, 489.



The First Lt. Infantry Comp<sup>y</sup> to be Posted to y<sup>e</sup>. Second Batt<sup>n</sup>. & to be compleated from y<sup>e</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. Lt. Comp<sup>y</sup>. to 120 P- 5 Serg<sup>ts</sup>. 3 Drs. one Cap<sup>tn</sup>. & 2 Sub<sup>ns</sup>. agreeable to the Election of Lt. Col<sup>l</sup>. Hall. The residue of the Company to be divided between Y<sup>e</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. Companies. The Grenad<sup>r</sup>. Comp<sup>y</sup>. of y<sup>e</sup>. First Batt<sup>n</sup>. to be compleated in like Manner by Lt. Col<sup>l</sup>. Penningtons direction, to y<sup>e</sup>. Same N<sup>o</sup>. of off<sup>rs</sup>. Serj<sup>ts</sup>. Drs- & Private & the remainder of this Comp<sup>y</sup>. to be drafted in order to Compleat the Batt<sup>n</sup>. Companies to one Cap<sup>tn</sup>. one Sub<sup>n</sup>. 5 Serj<sup>ts</sup> 2 Drs. & 104 & 103 Privates as Y<sup>e</sup> G<sup>l</sup>. Strength will allow. The Adjut<sup>ts</sup>. of y<sup>e</sup>. different Batt<sup>ns</sup>- have copies of the distribution to assist their Business & the whole will be considered to take place Y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup>. Inst<sup>t</sup>. The different Companies will bear their Sick & Prisoners with the Rebels on their respective Strength & the Flank Companies will on particular Service be compleated to 120 Effective. Lt Col<sup>l</sup>. Schutz being desirous to continue with the Second Batt<sup>n</sup>-, Lt Col<sup>l</sup>. Norton is app<sup>d</sup> to the Command of the First Batt<sup>n</sup>-, Lt Col<sup>l</sup>. Gordon being absent; Lt. Col<sup>l</sup>. Pennington to the Command of the Grenadier Company, vice Lt. Col<sup>l</sup>. Norton- app<sup>d</sup>. Command<sup>t</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>, & The officers to be posted to the Companies agreeable to the following order-<sup>43</sup>

Grenad<sup>r</sup>., Lt Col: Pennington, Cap<sup>tn</sup>. Boscawen, Richardson; 1<sup>st</sup>. Co, Lt Col. Comd<sup>t</sup>. Norton, Cap<sup>tn</sup>. Christie; 2<sup>nd</sup>, Horneck, Goodricke; 3<sup>rd</sup>, Lt Col. Stuart, Cap<sup>tn</sup>. Maitland; 4<sup>th</sup>, Swanton, Mathew; 5<sup>th</sup>, Lt Col: Lovelace, Cap<sup>tn</sup>. Eld; 6<sup>th</sup>, Lt Col: Comd<sup>t</sup>. Schutz, Cap<sup>tn</sup>. Schutz;<sup>44</sup> Lt Inf<sup>ry</sup>, Lt Col: Hall, Cap<sup>tns</sup>. Maynard, Dundas.

#### ON BOARD THE ROMULUS, HAMPTON ROAD,

25<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1780.

The G<sup>l</sup>. is given to understand that the behaviour of many of the British Troops employed on the different Landings has by no means answered his expectation with regard to regularity, & Sobriety. It is with infinite concern that he finds himself again obliged to apply to the off<sup>r</sup>. on that Head he hopes in future these exertions will prevent his being under the necessity of inforceing his orders by Measures which are disagreeable to himself. Serj<sup>t</sup>. Piester of y<sup>e</sup>. 62 Reg<sup>t</sup> is app<sup>d</sup>. Dep<sup>y</sup>. P: Martial. 150 of y<sup>e</sup> G<sup>ds</sup>, one Hundred 82 Reg<sup>t</sup>, Col<sup>l</sup>. Watsons Corp, & Fifty Yagers with their Packs & two days Provisions & Rum to be ready to disembark tomorrow Morning at day Break, also the two three Pounders attached to the G<sup>ds</sup>. The rest of the Army will be ready to disembark on the Shortest Notice taking one days Provision with them.

<sup>43</sup> The handwriting changes at this point, but the original form reappears at the end of the list of officers.

<sup>44</sup> Captain Schutz was mortally wounded at the battle of Guilford Court House. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 367, 415.



H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup> PORTSMOUTH,28<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1780.

The 82 Reg<sup>t</sup>. give y<sup>e</sup>. Guards tomorrow Morning at Ten oClock. A Serj<sup>t</sup>. Corp<sup>l</sup>. & 12 Men from Y<sup>e</sup>. G<sup>ds</sup>. to escort Provisions for Col<sup>l</sup>. Stuarts Command at great Bridge tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. He will meet an escort upon the Road at Odines House (five Miles from y<sup>e</sup>. Landing) to whom they will deliver over the Provisions & return. A Serj<sup>t</sup>. & 10 Men of the 82<sup>d</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup> to escort Provisions for Major Barkleys Command at Bickles Mill tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. They will meet an escort at Moores Farm to whom they will deliver over the Provisions & return. The Troops that are now landed will receive two days Provisions tomorrow Morning from y<sup>e</sup>. Dep<sup>ty</sup> Com<sup>y</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. being to the 30<sup>th</sup> Inst. Inclusive.

The different Corps will Send their Waggon & Horses & Waggoners immediately & they will deliver them over to the Dep<sup>y</sup>- Q<sup>r</sup>. M. G<sup>l</sup>. who will Send back the Waggoners to their Reg<sup>ts</sup>. as Soon as he can procure others in their Room. No Lumber or Materials to be taken away by any person but by an order from H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. or from the Chief Engineer. The Brigade of Guards will be ready to disembark tomorrow Morning at Nine oClock Both will attend the Different Transports for this purpose.

H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. PORTSMOUTH,29<sup>th</sup>. Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1780*Parole, Dublin**C Sign. York*

The Reg<sup>t</sup>. De Bose to be quartered in Town owing to their having no Camp equipage. The Guards, 82<sup>d</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>, Col<sup>l</sup>. Fanning, & Yagers to Encamp to Morrow Morning. The Q<sup>r</sup>. Mr. G<sup>l</sup>. will Shew them their Ground. A Party without arms to Parade tomorrow morning at 7 oClock at the Church, they are to Work till 11 oClock & to return at one & Work till Sunset. The Engineer will give them their directions, they will be allowed Extra Rum.

*Detail for Work*Reg<sup>t</sup>. Bose

C-S-S-C-D- P

1- 2- 4- 4- 1-100

*Detail for Town Duty*

Main Guard

C-S-S-C-D- P

- 1- 2- 3- 1- 50

Engineer

1- 6

do over y<sup>e</sup>. Foot

1- 3

Total

1- 2- 5- 1- 59



The Guards an orderly Serj<sup>t</sup> to H<sup>d</sup>. Quarters.

Memor<sup>m</sup>.—Those Swords delivered to off<sup>rs</sup>. at Hampton to be immediately Sent to Head Quarters.<sup>45</sup>

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. PORTSMOUTH,  
Oct<sup>r</sup>. 30<sup>th</sup>. 1780.

Parole, *Chester*

C Sign, *Leeds*

The Dep<sup>y</sup>. Commissary Gen<sup>l</sup>. will Issue two days provisions to the Troops at the Store tomorrow morning. The Brigade of Guards will give 150 Men for work tomorrow with Officers in proportion. They are to parade at the same Hour & place as in Yesterdays Orders. The 82<sup>nd</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>. give the Town duty tomorrow.

*Detail*

	Sub <sup>n</sup> .	Serj <sup>t</sup> .	Corp <sup>l</sup> .	D	Prie.
Main Guard	1	2	3	1	50
d <sup>o</sup> . near the Engineers	.	.	1	.	6
at the Windmill	.	.	1	.	3
Total	1	2	5	1	59

82<sup>nd</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>. an orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. at Head Quarters.

The Com<sup>dg</sup>. off<sup>rs</sup>. of Corps now Encamp'd will Please to give directions for Posting their Pickets in their own Fronts. It is expected that a Vessel will sail soon for New York, all Letters to be sent to Head Quarters. The Troops are not to Land their Heavy Baggage 'till further Orders.

H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. PORTSMOUTH,  
Oct<sup>r</sup>. ye. 31<sup>st</sup>. 1780.

Parole, *Greenwich*

C. Sign, *Jamaica*

Returns of the Effective Horses in the different Departments to be Immediately given in at Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. Monthly Returns for the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, & fortnight States for the 15<sup>th</sup>. October & 1<sup>st</sup>. Novem<sup>r</sup>. to be given in. Those Corps that have not got the New Form from the Adj<sup>t</sup>. Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Office will send to the Orderly room at Major of Brigade Bowe's<sup>46</sup> Quarters, where they will take Copies. Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose, the Town duty to morrow & a Orderly Serjeant at Head Quarters.

*Detail*

Sub <sup>n</sup> .	Serj <sup>t</sup> .	Corp <sup>l</sup> .	D	P
1	2	5	1	59

<sup>45</sup> The orders for October 30 and 31 are in a different handwriting.

<sup>46</sup> Brigade Major Frederick Bowes, appointed captain in the 64th Foot in 1774 and major in 1783. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 408.



Detail for the Working party tomor<sup>w</sup>:

	Capt <sup>n</sup> .	Sub.	Serjt.	C.	D:	P
Brig <sup>de</sup> . G <sup>ds</sup> .	1	-	3	-	3	- 87
82 <sup>nd</sup> Reg <sup>t</sup> .		1	- 1	- 2	-	40
Reg <sup>t</sup> . of Bose		1	- 2	- 3	-	73
<hr/>						
	1	- 2	- 6	- 8	-	-200

The several Corps & Departments will Supply themselves with Fuel till the Barrack Master can furnish them. The Reg<sup>ts</sup>. will apply for Axes at the Barrack Office, the Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>rs</sup>. will give their receipts for them. Orderly time at Twelve oClock.

HEAD QUARTERS PORTSMOUTH,

1<sup>st</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>.

Parole, Abotsburg

C Sign, Goxford

The Brigade of Guards, the Town Duties tomorrow & an orderly Serjt. at Head Quarters.

Detail for Work tomorrow

	C-S-S-C-D-P
Guard	3- 3- 1- 87
82 <sup>d</sup> . Reg <sup>t</sup>	1- - 1- 2- - 40
Reg <sup>t</sup> DeBose	1- 2- 3- - 73
<hr/>	
	1- 1- 6- 8- -200

The Commissary will Issue two Days Fresh Provisions to the Troops tomorrow Morning being to the 3<sup>d</sup>. Inst. Inclusive.

PORTSMOUTH,

Nov<sup>r</sup>. y<sup>e</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. 1780

Parole, Abescoon

C S, Geovel

The Reg<sup>t</sup>. D Bose, the Town Duty tomorrow & an Orderly Serjt. at H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>.

Detail for Work

	C-S-S-C-D-P
Brigade G <sup>ds</sup> .	5- 5- 1-130
82 Regt	1- 2- 2- - 60
Reg <sup>t</sup> . D Bose	1- - 4- 3- -116
<hr/>	
	1- 1-11-10- 1-300

Brigade orders 2<sup>d</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1780. The order of the 29<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup>. (respecting the officers of Y<sup>e</sup>. Brigade being to encamp in y<sup>e</sup>. Rear of their Re-



spective Companies), not having been complying with Lt. Col<sup>l</sup>. Howard is under the necessity of repeating that order- & expects that it is immediately complied with, except by Such Field off<sup>rs</sup> who may have Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Leslie's Permission & indulgence of Q<sup>rs</sup>. in the Town-

H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. PORTSMOUTH,

Nov<sup>r</sup>. y<sup>e</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1780.

Parole, *Abercromby*

C Sign, *Gaxley*

The Guards The orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. & Town Duties tomorrow-

C-S-S-C-D

Detail, 1- 2-2-1-65

*Detail for Work tomorrow*

C-S-S-C-D-P

G<sup>ds</sup>

5- 5- 1- 130

82

1-2- 2- 60

Reg<sup>t</sup>. D Bose

1- 4- 3- 1- 110

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1-1-11-10-2-300

Mem<sup>m</sup>. As y<sup>e</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. occupied by Several officers of the G<sup>ds</sup>. will become vacant in consequence of this days orders- they are expected to be delivered up to Y<sup>e</sup>. Barrack Masters for the accomodation of other Troops- but Maj<sup>r</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. Leslie has been pleased to allow one House to be reserved as a Mess House for y<sup>e</sup>. Brigade.

*After orders Nov<sup>r</sup>. y<sup>e</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. 1780*

The G<sup>ds</sup>. Give y<sup>e</sup>. Cap<sup>tn</sup>. for y<sup>e</sup>. Working Party tomorrow, y<sup>e</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>. D Bose for the Town Duty.

*B orders*

S C-Horns-P.

2 .2 . 1 30 from y<sup>e</sup>. late Second Lt. Infantry (if not Sufficient to be compleated from y<sup>e</sup>. Men that have been exchanged from y<sup>e</sup>. first) to Parade at y<sup>e</sup>. Church tomorrow morning with their Blankets & the Provisions they have already drawn, at Day Break Cap<sup>tn</sup>. Eld. will take y<sup>e</sup>. Command of this Party. A Public Boat will go from the Old Ferry House from Portsmouth to Norfolk at the following hours at Eight oClock in the Morning Twelve oClock Noon & Four oClock afternoon. A Serj<sup>t</sup>. will attend to examining Passes which must be Signed by a Commissioned officer & See that the Above order is complied with. Col<sup>l</sup>. Fanning will give the Same directions on the Norfolk Side where a Boat is also ordered to attend. The Commander in Chief is pleased to appoint Lt. Col<sup>l</sup>. Howard Brigad<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. in America till further orders.



14 Oct<sup>o</sup> 1780

The People coming into Market, are on no pretence to be Stopt by the out Posts but allowed to come into the Town & to dispose of their things in the usual Market Place. The Troops will receive two days fresh Provisions & Flour at the Commissary Store tomorrow Morning being to the 5<sup>th</sup>. Inst. Inclusive.

*Orders 3 oClock*

The Guard<sup>s</sup> that are now embarked & the Kings American Reg<sup>t</sup>. are to land immediately with their Camp Equipage Y<sup>e</sup>. Dep<sup>y</sup>. Q<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. will Shewe them Ground. The 84 Reg<sup>t</sup>. are to land immediately the Dep<sup>y</sup>. Q<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. will Shew them their ground.

*Morning orders 4<sup>th</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1780*H<sup>d</sup>. QUARTERS PORTSMOUTH,4<sup>th</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>.

A Gen<sup>l</sup>. Court Martial consisting of Two Field off<sup>rs</sup>. Six Captains and Five L<sup>ts</sup>- to Assemble on Monday Morning at the Assembly Hall at Ten oClock for the Trial of Such Prisoners as Shall be brought before it. L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup>. Hall of the Guards, President; Major Grant of the Kings American Reg<sup>t</sup>.

	Members	
	C	L <sup>ts</sup>
Royal Artillery		1
B: G <sup>ds</sup>	2	
82 Regt	1	1
84 do	1	1
Queens Rangers	1	
Kings Americans	1	2
	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 5

Ens<sup>n</sup>. John Young of the Kings American Reg<sup>t</sup>. Dep<sup>y</sup>. Judge Advocate, to whom the Names of the Members & y<sup>e</sup>. dates of their Commissions is to be given in. The Prisoners names & Crimes are to be Sent immediately.

The 82 Reg<sup>t</sup>- give the Town duty tomorrow & an orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. at H<sup>d</sup>. Quarters.



*Detail for Work tomorrow*

Wind Mill	FO C-S-S-C-D- P
B G <sup>d</sup> -	-1 -1- 6-6-1-188
82	1-2-2- 74
84	1-2-2- 45
Reg <sup>t</sup> . D Bose	1-1-5-5- 128
K American	1-2-2- 65
	<hr/>
	1-2-4-18-17-2-500

## HEAD QUARTERS PORTSMOUTH,

5<sup>th</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup> 80<sup>47</sup>

Parole, C Sign,  
84<sup>th</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>, Town duties tomorrow and orderly Serjeant at Head Q<sup>rs</sup>.

*Detail*

	C-Sub-Serj <sup>ts</sup> .-Corp <sup>ls</sup> -D <sup>rs</sup> .-Private
Total	1- 1 - 2 - 5 - 1 - 68

*Detail for Work*

	FO - C - S - S - C - D - Private
Guards	. - 1 - . - 5 - 5 - 1 - 130
82 <sup>nd</sup> .	. - . - 1 - 2 - 2 - . - 60
Reg <sup>t</sup> . DeBose	1 - 1 - 1 - 4 - 4 - 1 - 115
K: A: Reg <sup>t</sup> .	. - . - 1 - 2 - 2 - . - 45
	<hr/>
Total	1 - 2 - 3 - 13 - 13 - 2 - 350

The following Observations to be Observed by the Commissary in delivering Forage in Virginia. 10<sup>lb</sup>. of Hay, 12<sup>lb</sup>. of Sheaf Oats, 12<sup>lb</sup>. of Indian Corn Blades or 24<sup>lb</sup>. of Tops for 6<sup>lb</sup>. of Oats—4<sup>lb</sup>. of Indian Corn. In order to make the negroes more usefull Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslie begs the Army & the different Departments, will give their Negroes a Bit of Paper, or Card, mentioning the names of the Masters, also the Negroes Names.

*Brigade Orders*

Officer for Workg party tomorrow, Captn Maynard; for Camp duty, Capt Horneck.

<sup>47</sup> The orders for November 5 and 6 are in a different handwriting.



HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. PORTSMOUTH,  
6<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1780

Parole, C Sign,  
Kings American Reg<sup>t</sup>. give the Town duty, & orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. at Head  
Quarters.

*Detail*

	C:	S:	Serj <sup>ts</sup> .	C:	D:	P:
Total	1	-	1	-	2	- 5 - 1 - 68

*Detail for Work*

	FO:	C:	S:	Serj <sup>ts</sup> .	C:	D:	Private
Gds	1	-	1	-	5	-	5 - 1 - 199
82 <sup>nd</sup> .			1	-	1	-	3 - 3 - 1 - 82
Reg <sup>t</sup> DeBose			1	-	1	-	5 - 5 - 1 - 141
K: A: Reg <sup>t</sup> .				1	-	3	- 3 - - 78
Total	1	-	3	-	3	-	17 -17 - 3 - 500

The Capt: of the main Guard is not to give the C Sign to Centinels on the Main Guard.

*Brigade Orders*

The Grenadr. Comp<sup>y</sup>. will be Augmented to 130 Men Rank & file. Capt Boscawen being Sick, Capt<sup>n</sup>. Christie is app<sup>d</sup>. to the Grenadr. Comp<sup>y</sup> till further Order. Lt. Col Pennington, & Capt Goodricke for the Working party tomorrow Morning; for Camp duty, Capt<sup>n</sup> Swanton; in Waiting, Capt Dundas.

H<sup>d</sup>. QUARTERS,  
Nov<sup>r</sup>. y<sup>e</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup> 1780

Parole, C. S.,  
The Brigade of Guards the Town Duty tomorrow; orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>,  
H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>.

*Detail*

	C-S-S-C-D-P
Main G <sup>d</sup> .	1- 2- 2- 1- 51
G <sup>d</sup> . near the Engr.	1 6
Wind Mill	1 6
Cattle Guard	1 6
	<hr/> 1 2- 5- 1- 69

Mem<sup>m</sup>. When the Cattle Guard is not required they are to be attached to the Main G<sup>d</sup>.



*Detail for Work*

	F - C - S - S - C - D - P
Brigade G <sup>ds</sup>	1 - 1      5 - 5 - 1 - 137
82	1 - 2 - 2 - 60
84 <sup>th</sup> .	1 - 2 - 2 - 1 - 47
Reg <sup>t</sup> . DeBose	1 - 1 - 2 - 2 - 51
	<hr/>
	1 - 2 - 4 - 15 - 15 - 2 - 400

The different Corps will give in early every Monday Morning to Major of Brigade Bowes their Present Effectives fit for Duty. The Commissary will Issue two days Fresh Provisions to the troops tomorrow, being to y<sup>e</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>. Inclusive.

H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. PORTSMOUTH,  
y<sup>e</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>. 1780.

Parole, C S,  
The B: G<sup>ds</sup>. the Town Duties to Morrow & an orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. to  
H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>.

	C - S - S - C - D - P
Detail	1      2 - 2 - 1 - 69

*Detail for Work*

	Fo- C - S - S - C - D - P
B G <sup>ds</sup> .	1 -      - 5 - 5 - 1 - 137
82 Reg <sup>t</sup> .	1 -      2 - 2 - 1 - 60
84	1 - 2 - 2 - 47
R <sup>t</sup> . DeBos	1 - 1 - 4 - 4 - 1 - 105
Kings Am <sup>n</sup> . R <sup>t</sup> .	1 - 2 - 2      51
	<hr/>
Total	1 - 2 - 4 - 15 - 15 - 3 - 400

The different Corps will procure for themselves Small Casks to hold their Mens Rum, when the large Puncheons cannot be carried

H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. PORTSMOUTH,  
9<sup>th</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1780

Parole, Abingdon C S, Wirtham  
The Reg<sup>t</sup>. D Bose y<sup>e</sup>. Town Duty tomorrow Morning & y<sup>e</sup>. orderly  
Serj<sup>t</sup>. to H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>.

	C - S - S - C - D - P
Detail	1 - 1 - 2 - 2 - 2 - 69



Detail for Work

	FO - C - S - S - C - D. P
B G <sup>ds</sup> .	1 - 1 - 5 - 5 - 1 - 137
82	1 - 2 - 2 - 60
84	1 - 2 - 2 - 1 - 47
Reg <sup>t</sup> . De Bose	1 - 1 - 4 - 4 - 1 - 105
K-A :R:	1 - 2 - 2 - 51
Total	1 - 4 - 2 - 15 - 15 - 3 - 400

After orders 4 oClock

Detail for Work tomorrow

	C-S-S-C-D- P
Brig <sup>de</sup> . G <sup>ds</sup> .	3- 3- 56
82	1- 2- 1- 1- 22
84	1- 1- 1- 15
Reg <sup>t</sup> . D'Bose	1- 2- 2- 1- 45
K :A :R	0- 1- 2- 17
	2- 9- 8- 2- 150

B: Mem<sup>m</sup>. The Engineer does not require the Carpenters from the Brigade tomorrow Morning, or any Longer than this day.

H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. PORTSMOUTH,  
Nov<sup>r</sup>. ye. 10<sup>th</sup>. 1780

Parole, C. S.,  
The Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose ye. Town Duty tomorrow & an orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. at  
H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup>.

	C-S-S-C-D- P
Detail	1-1-2-5-1- 69
	Detail for Work
	C-S-S-C-D- P
G <sup>ds</sup> .	3- 3- 1- 56
82 Reg <sup>t</sup>	1- 2- 1- 22
84	1- - 1- 1- 15
Reg <sup>t</sup> . De Bose	- 1- 2- 2- 40
Kings A : R.	1- 1- 17
	1- 2- 9- 8- 150

As Several of the Tomy Hawkes,<sup>48</sup> given out to the Working party, by the Engineer are taken away the Gen<sup>l</sup>. desires that they May be immediately Returned.

<sup>48</sup> Tomahawks.



H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. PORTSMOUTH,11 Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1780Parole, *St Albans*C. S., *Wuckam*

The Brigade of Guards the Town duty tomorrow and an orderly Serg<sup>t</sup>.  
at H<sup>d</sup>. Quarters-

*Detail for Work*

Brigade Guard

Reg<sup>t</sup>. D Bose

C-S-S-C-D- P

1- 3- 3- 1- 60

1- 2- 2- 40

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 1-1- 5- 5- 1-100

The 82<sup>d</sup>. 84<sup>th</sup>. Reg<sup>ts</sup>. & Kings American Reg<sup>t</sup>. to Strike Tents at one oClock this day & to embark on Board their several Transports, The Dep<sup>ty</sup>. Q<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. will have Waggons on the ground at the above time, & y<sup>e</sup> Agent will have Boats ready at y<sup>e</sup>. Ferry Wharf to receive them. The Same N<sup>o</sup>. of Horses will be allowed for those Troops now under embarkation orders on Board the Vessels they came in from N: York. The Corps are to take charge of y<sup>e</sup> Waggons they brought with them. The Dep<sup>ty</sup>. Commiss<sup>y</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. will Issue two days Provisions tomorrow Morning being to the 13<sup>th</sup>. Inst. Inclusive-

*After orders*

The troops that are now Embarked to Send to the Dep<sup>ty</sup> Commissary Generals Pen at Norfolk tomorrow Morning to receive one Sheep for every two off<sup>rs</sup>. when a further Supply can be got, more will be Issued, the Commanding off<sup>rs</sup>. of Corps will please to Sign returns for the N<sup>o</sup>. of off<sup>rs</sup>- they draw for. The Reg<sup>ts</sup>. in Portsmouth & these that are now embarked will give in their Bread & Corn Bags to the Dep<sup>y</sup>- Commiss<sup>y</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. immediately, they will also Send their Butchers over to Norfolk tomorrow morning where they will take their *directions* for y<sup>e</sup>. Commissary.

H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>.,Nov<sup>r</sup>. y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>. 1780

The Flank Companies of the B: Guards & y<sup>e</sup>. first Batt<sup>n</sup>. will Embark at the Ferry tomorrow Morning at 12 oClock. The Q<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. will have Waggons to convey their Baggage from y<sup>e</sup>. Ground at 11 oClock in y<sup>e</sup>. Morning & the Agent will have the Boats ready to convey the Troops on Board the different Transports. The Transports- to receive these Troops on y<sup>e</sup>. Neptune Margaret & Martha- & the Woodlands- L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Norton will give further directions. The Two Six Pounders attached to the Brigade of Guards will embark agreeable to further orders on Board *the Rising Sun*. A Corporal & Six Men from these Companies not under embarkation orders- will attend the G<sup>l</sup>. Hospital at Day Break M<sup>r</sup>. Grant y<sup>e</sup>. Surgeon G<sup>l</sup>. will give them orders.



Hd. Qrs. PORTSMOUTH,

Novr. ye. 12<sup>th</sup>Parole, *Chester*C S, *Wovenden*The Reg<sup>t</sup>. D Bose the Town Duty

C-S-S-C-D-P

Detail

1-1- 2- 5- 1- 69

The 2<sup>d</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. G<sup>ds</sup>, an orderly Serj<sup>t</sup> at Hd. Qrs. The 2<sup>d</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. of G<sup>ds</sup>. will Strike Tents tomorrow Morning at 8 oClock & take up their Qrs. in Town ye. Qr. Mr. will apply to ye. Barrack Mr. for Houses.

PORTSMOUTH,

Novr. ye. 13<sup>th</sup>. 1780

The Lt. Infantry Company of the G<sup>ds</sup>. will be immediately compleated to 40 Rounds p<sup>r</sup> Man, & be ready to Disembark tomorrow Morning at Day Break, when Both will attend the Ship, they will March without Blankets- their Rum to be delivered before they disembark & an extra allowance on their Return.

PORTSMOUTH,

Novr. ye. 14<sup>th</sup>. 1780

The Field off<sup>rs</sup>. Horses of the whole Brigade to be Sent to the Wharf immediately- in order to Cross over to Norfolk for embarkation.

*Brigade orders*

The Present Establishment of the different Companies in the Brigade having consequently made an alteration in ye. Strength of each Comp<sup>y</sup>. B: G<sup>l</sup>. Howard is under ye. necessity of Making the following alteration & arrangement for the Embarkation of the Brigade, which ye. Adj<sup>ts</sup>. are particularly desired to attend to at the time ye. Second Batt<sup>n</sup>. May be ordered to Embark.

*Ships & Companies*

Neptune

Grenadiers & 6<sup>th</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup>.

Margaret &amp; Martha

Lt. Infantry & 4<sup>th</sup>. Comp<sup>y</sup>.

Rising Sun

3<sup>d</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup>. & 26- Second

Woodland

1<sup>st</sup>. Comp<sup>y</sup>. & 34 Second

Peggy Fisher

5<sup>th</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> & Remainder 2<sup>d</sup>.*Brigade Morning orders 14<sup>th</sup>. Novr. 1780*

The Cloathing of the Brigade to be immediately delivered out & fitted in ye. best Manner the Situation will admit of on Board the different



Transports. The 2<sup>d</sup>. Comp<sup>y</sup>. being y<sup>e</sup>. only one divided in the present order of embarkation their Cloathing is desired to be first Issued. The Men are not to wear their New Coats on Board of Ship but are expected to Land in them, throwing their old ones away.

## ON BOARD THE ROMULUS HAMPTON ROAD,

Nov<sup>r</sup>. y<sup>e</sup>. 15<sup>th</sup>. 1780

The States due the 15<sup>th</sup>. are desired to be given in as Soon as possible. Complaint having been made to the G<sup>l</sup>. by the Agents of Transports of the great waste & consumption of Water on Board the different Transports on the Passage from N York, It is expected that particular attention is paid to this Article & that no Waste on any acct. is suffered by the Troops.

## ON BOARD THE ROMULUS,

Nov<sup>r</sup>. y<sup>e</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. 1780

The Corps may have Some of the Prize Wine, The Commanding off<sup>rs</sup>. Giving the Agents a R<sup>t</sup>. for the Same. It is recommended to the off<sup>rs</sup>. Commanding Corps to take off no Negroes but those that are absolutely Necessary. The G<sup>ds</sup>. & y<sup>e</sup>. 82<sup>d</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>. will Send for their recovered Men on Board the Hospital Ship. The Troops embarked to be Victualed at 2/3 allowance commencing tomorrow y<sup>e</sup>. 19<sup>th</sup>. Inst. & to be continued till further orders. Also the Negroes are not to be Victualed as Soldiers, Indian Corn will be Sent on Board the Ships for this purpose.

## ON BOARD THE NEPTUNE OFF HAMPTON,

21<sup>st</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1780.*Brigade Orders*

The Cloathing of the Brigade to be immediately fitted & the Commanding officers are particularly requested to have their Respective Batt<sup>ns</sup>- as uniform in their dress as possible; in order to assist which the Q<sup>r</sup>. Masters on delivering over the leggings of those Men who may have been removed from y<sup>e</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. to y<sup>e</sup>. first- will receive Black Cloth for Gaiters in return. The difference in Price will be Settled between y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>tns</sup>- of the different companies.

*Retreat of the Army from Portsmouth*

On y<sup>e</sup>. Morning of the 14<sup>th</sup>. Inst. the Advanced Posts were called in & the Whole of the Troops ordered to be ready to Embark—at 11 oClock the Whole Moved by the way of the Beach to y<sup>e</sup>. Fort—& the Transports Warped & Fell down with the Tide y<sup>e</sup>. Wind being foul—The Embarkation began—but the Commissaries Ship getting aground off the Point Made the G<sup>l</sup>. & Navy off<sup>rs</sup>. think it necessary for Some troops to occupy



that Post to prevent the Enemy from annoying that vessel Shu'd they come down- for which purpose the 2<sup>d</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. G<sup>ds</sup>. L<sup>t</sup>. Infantry Comp<sup>y</sup>. (who were sent in the morning to Cover Y<sup>e</sup>. Retreat of Major Barkley-) 74 of Major Bar[k]leys Corps—70 Yajers & y<sup>e</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup>- Setled at the Old Fort till 12 oClock at Night at which time the Transport getting off The Signal was made & the Whole of the Troops embarked by 1/2 past one oClock. During this Delay L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup>. Hall & Cap<sup>tn</sup>. Rigdon of the jagers were Posted as an advance G<sup>d</sup>- at [illegible] House extending across the Wood to Scotts Creek. No Enemy Shewed themselves except a Patrole of two Light Horse who were met by a Patrole of Infantry from L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup>. Halls Party at the time he Moved from y<sup>e</sup>. W- 6 Miles from Portsmouth.

22 The Fleet got under Way & Stood down the Bay for Sea, Nothing transpired during our Anchorage in the Bay except the Enemy's taking the Delight, Barge & Crewe afterwards exchanged & Shewing themselves in Small N<sup>r</sup>- on the Princess Ann Shore W<sup>d</sup>: N W<sup>49</sup>

CHARLES TOWN,

15<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780.

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders*

The sev<sup>l</sup>. Corps will immediately Land all their Waggons at Riggs Wharf, Where one of the Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>ls</sup>. will attend to receive them. The 82<sup>nd</sup>. & 84<sup>th</sup>. Detachm<sup>ts</sup>. to be ready to Disembark, in order to do Duty in Town. The Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>rs</sup>. to Call upon the Barrack Master with the Strength of Each Corps. Col. Fannings Reg<sup>t</sup>. to be ready to Land to go on a Separate Service. The Troops under orders to Join the Army to provide themselves with Bat Horses as soon as possible, for none under the degree of a Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>r</sup>. of a Corps is allow'd a Waggon. But in Consideration of the Officers not yet having provided themselves, a few Waggon will be Spared to Each Corps for Carrying their light Baggage. No Camp Equipage to be taken but a few Soldiers Tents for the Officers. The Corps to Comp<sup>t</sup>. their Men with Camp Hatchets Canteens, & Kettles. The Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>rs</sup>. of Corps to make a Report to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Leslie of the State of their Blankets. It is recommended to the Com<sup>dg</sup> Off<sup>rs</sup>. of Reg<sup>ts</sup>. to provide the Men with Night Caps before they take the Field.

*Brigade Orders*

The Hats of the Brig<sup>de</sup>. to be im<sup>dy</sup>. D<sup>d</sup>. & fitted, the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> to be provid<sup>d</sup>. with Brown Trowsers, in order that the Brig<sup>ade</sup> may be Uniform in this as well as the other part of their dress. The Necessaries of the Brig<sup>de</sup>. are to be Im<sup>dy</sup>. Comp<sup>td</sup>. to 2 Good p<sup>r</sup>. Shoes, 2 Sh<sup>ts</sup>. & 2 p<sup>r</sup> Worsted

<sup>49</sup> Here follow two blank pages in the manuscript and a change in handwriting.



Stock<sup>gs</sup>. per Man. The State of Camp Kettles, Canteens, &<sup>ca</sup>. to be Im<sup>dy</sup>. enquir'd into. Each Mess to be furnish'd with a Good Camp Kettle, & every Man provided with a Canteen, & Tomahawk- & the Pioneers w<sup>th</sup>. all kind of Tools. The drum<sup>rs</sup>. are to Carry a good Ax Each & provide themselves with Slings for the Same. All the Old Coats Blankets &<sup>ca</sup>. to be thrown away, except such as Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>rs</sup>. may direct to be Stored. A State of Arms & Accoutrem<sup>ts</sup>. to be given in that all deficencis may be may [made] good.—together with a State of Ammunition & flints. The Brigade to be reduced to Six Companies of equal Strength, the Gren<sup>drs</sup>. & Lt Infantry will have 8 Serg<sup>ts</sup> & 8 Corp<sup>ls</sup>. Each—the Batt<sup>n</sup>. Comp<sup>ys</sup> 6 Serg<sup>ts</sup>. & 6 Corp<sup>ls</sup>. Each Appointing two Lance Serg<sup>ts</sup>.<sup>50</sup> & Corp<sup>ls</sup>. Each. The 1<sup>st</sup>. & fourth Comp<sup>ys</sup>. will be Reduced to Comp<sup>t</sup>. the other Six & the Off<sup>rs</sup>. Posted agreeable to y<sup>e</sup> follg Order:

L<sup>t</sup> Col. Norton, Com<sup>dt</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup>; Schutz, d<sup>o</sup>. 2<sup>nd</sup> d<sup>o</sup>; 1<sup>st</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup>.—L. Col. Stuart, Capt<sup>ns</sup>. Maitland & Goo[d]ricke; 2<sup>nd</sup>, Capt<sup>ns</sup> Horneck, Schutz, & Ens<sup>n</sup> Stuart; 3<sup>rd</sup>, L Col. Lovelace C<sup>t</sup>. Boscawen & Eld; 4<sup>th</sup>, Capt<sup>ns</sup>. Swanton, & Richardson; Grenad<sup>rs</sup>, L Col. Pennington, C<sup>mrs</sup>. Dun-  
glass & Christie; L<sup>t</sup> Inf<sup>ry</sup>, L Col Hall, Capt<sup>ns</sup> Maynard, & Dundass.

This Establishment will take place the 24<sup>h</sup> Inst. in Resp<sup>t</sup>. to Acc<sup>ts</sup>. but in regard to the posting of Off<sup>rs</sup>. & Men the Moment the Brig<sup>de</sup>. disembark- But Previous to this regulation all Invalid or Such Men as are not fit for Actual Service are to be return'd as Such & left as Invalids, for Store Guards with any other duties the Command<sup>t</sup>. of this place may Assign them. Each Comp<sup>y</sup> will furnish an Equal proportion of Bat Men, agree- able to the Number Employ'd in the Brigade that the Several Comp<sup>ys</sup> may be Equal in Strength. The Capt<sup>ns</sup> of the Established Six Comp<sup>ys</sup>. will take a proportion of the Stores from the Com<sup>dg</sup> Off<sup>rs</sup>. of those Com- panies Drafted by the above Order. The Taylors & Women of the whole Brigade to be Employ'd in Compleating the 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. in Trowsers; a Return of whom will be given in for the Com<sup>ds</sup>. of the 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. im- mediately.<sup>51</sup>

Hd. Q<sup>rs</sup>. NEAR QUARTER HOUSE<sup>52</sup>

19<sup>th</sup>. Dr. 1780

The Troops will be ready to March at Six oClock tomorrow Morning. The Baggage is expected to be ready loaded by 1/2 past five oClock. The Troops to the Rear will Send their Baggage immediately forward to the Quarter House where the Q<sup>r</sup>. M. G<sup>l</sup>. will give directions agreeable to the Line of March, those troops in advance will have their Baggage loaded by 1/4 before Six oClock opposite to their Respective Camps in the Road ready to fall in the line of March.

<sup>50</sup> A lance sergeant is a corporal temporarily assigned to the duties of a sergeant. A lance corporal is a private temporarily assigned to the duties of a corporal.

<sup>51</sup> Here follows a blank page and a return to the form of handwriting in which most of the record thus far appears.

<sup>52</sup> Quarter House, on the neck of land about 5 miles from Charleston. Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783*, 492.



*Line of March*

Lt. Infy. G <sup>ds</sup> .	Baggage, Waggon & Bat
Yagers	Horses <sup>53</sup>
Grenadier G <sup>ds</sup> .	The Reg <sup>t</sup> . D Bose
Artillery	Provincial Lt. Infantry
Brigade G <sup>ds</sup> .	17 <sup>th</sup> . Company
Q <sup>r</sup> . M <sup>r</sup> . G <sup>ls</sup> . Waggon	Lt. Horse

Each Corps will Send dayly an orderly Serg<sup>t</sup> for H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. who will March together in y<sup>e</sup>. Rear of the Yagers & when the Troops come to their ground, attend at H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. till they are relieved at 7 oClock next.

Mem<sup>d</sup>. The Bat men & Drivers are expected to take y<sup>e</sup>. greatest care to keep up & conform to the order of March, that the Line may be extended as little as possible-

Mem<sup>m</sup>. The orderly hour will in future be at 1/2 past 5 oClock every Evening. Found by a Soldier of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. D Bose a Silver Watch—any Person owning & properly discribing the Same May recover it on application to the Comm<sup>d</sup>. Off<sup>r</sup>. of the Regt.<sup>54</sup>

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. GARDNERS HOUSE,

20<sup>th</sup>. Decem<sup>r</sup>. 1780

The troops will be ready to March at Six OClock tomorrow morning, but not to move 'till further Orders. All the Baggage to be in the Road by the Artillery Park Opposite Head Quarters a Quarter before Six O'Clock.

*Brigade Orders.*

Capt Eld is posted to the Second Comp<sup>y</sup> Vice Capt Schutz, & Capt Schutz to the Third Vice Eld.

CAMP, THIRTY MILE HALT,

21<sup>st</sup>. Decem<sup>r</sup>. 1870

The Baggage will move on the Road opposite to Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. & the troops be ready to March tomorrow morning agreeable to former Orders. The Women of the Army Will March at the Head of the Baggage. The Reg<sup>t</sup>. DeBose will furnish a provost Guard at the hour of March consist<sup>g</sup> of 1 Corp<sup>l</sup>. 6 P under the Command of the Provost Marshal & March in the Rear of the . . . Baggage. Each Corps will send a Corp<sup>l</sup>. & Six private immediately as an Addition to Genl O'Hara's<sup>55</sup> Guard About One Mile in front of the Camp.

<sup>53</sup> Horses which carry baggage.

<sup>54</sup> Here follows a change in handwriting.

<sup>55</sup> Brigadier-General Charles O'Hara, who, from his arrival in America in 1777 as colonel of the 2nd Foot Guards, served with unusual ability and distinction in the British army. He was wounded at the battle of Guilford Court House. After the war he was governor of several British colonies. He died in 1802. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 448.



*Brigade Orders*

The Com<sup>dts</sup>. are desir'd to give in a Return of the pris<sup>rs</sup>. their Crime or what Sentence they are Under.

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. After Orders*

A State to be given into Morrow Morn<sup>g</sup> by the differ<sup>t</sup>. Corps, of the Ammunition & flints. Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>rs</sup> of Reg<sup>ts</sup>. are desir'd to pay particular Attention to the State of their Mens Arms taking every precaution the Weather may render Necessary to keep them in proper order.

Mem<sup>dm</sup>. For the Convenience of the Corps orders will in future be Given out at the Artillery Park As soon as they come to their Ground, Where the Adjutants are desired to Attend the Maj<sup>r</sup>. of Brigade.

CAMP MONKS CORNER,

22<sup>nd</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780

The Troops will be ready to Move at the same hour & same order as this day. The Baggage of the Army will be in the Road near the Tavern a Q<sup>r</sup>. before Six O'Clock. Two days provisions & Rum will be Issued, at the Commissarys Store immediately.—The Reg<sup>ts</sup>. will include ye Drivers attach'd to their Respective Corps in their Prov<sup>n</sup>. Returns. The Baggage of the Brigades or Reg<sup>ts</sup>. will be Collected together in their respective Camps, previous to their proceeding to the Gen<sup>l</sup> place of Rendezvouz; in order that the Line of Baggage may be more regularly form'd in future. The Baggage G<sup>ds</sup>. of the diff<sup>t</sup>. Corps, are expected to March in a More Regular Manner, & the Women of the Army more Strictly to Observe the Orders of yesterday.

*After Orders 5 O'Clock 22<sup>nd</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>.*

The Army will not March 'till further Orders. The Gen<sup>l</sup>. will see the Brigade of Guards under Arms at Ten o'Clock to morrow morning.

*Brigade Morning Orders 23<sup>rd</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>.*

The Brigade of Guards will not be Seen by the General at Ten o'Clock this morning as express'd in yesterdays after Orders.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. COOKS HOUSE,

23<sup>rd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780

*Morning Orders*

The Corps of pioneers will parade at the Artillery Park this Morn<sup>g</sup>: at 11 o'Clock with their Blankets & prov<sup>ns</sup>. where they will receive further Orders from the Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>. (Capt M<sup>c</sup>Kinnon).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Here follows one blank page in the manuscript.



H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>r</sup> COOKS HOUSE,23<sup>rd</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. 80*After Orders, 5 oClock*

MG: Leslie having Altered his Intention of Reassuming the Command of the Corps, the Majors of Brigade, Adj<sup>ts</sup>. & Departments will apply to B G: O'Hara for Ord<sup>rs</sup>. as Usual. The Troops will be ready to Move to Mor. Morn<sup>g</sup>. at the same Hour, & in the same Order as before Directed. The P. M: Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Waggon will fall in in the Rear of the Artill<sup>y</sup> in the Order of March; in front of which a G<sup>d</sup>. Consist<sup>g</sup>. of one Corpl & Six private, will March. The Guards furnish this duty to be reliev'd at the same hour every Morn<sup>g</sup>. as directed for the Provost, & other Guards.

HEAD QUARTERS,

24<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780

The Com<sup>dr</sup>. in Chief has been pleas'd to appoint Capt Barry of the 52<sup>nd</sup>. Regt. to Act as Dep<sup>y</sup>. Adj<sup>t</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. to the Troops under the Com<sup>d</sup>. of MG Leslie 'till further Orders. The Troops will be ready to March at day break tomorr<sup>w</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>.—the Baggage to be Loaded & in the Road in front of the Artillery, precisely at half past five O'Clock.

HEAD QUARTERS FLOODS HOUSE,

25<sup>th</sup>. Decem<sup>r</sup>. 1870

The Troops will March at the same Hour and in the same order as this day. the Baggage to be in the Rear of the Artillery Park, precisely at half past five o'Clock. The Provincial L<sup>t</sup> Infantry will Relieve the Provost Guard.- the Reg<sup>t</sup>. DeBose the Forage & Baggage Guards Detail as yesterday.

Copy of an Order Reced from Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Leslie, Dated Nelson's Ferry Dec<sup>r</sup>. 25<sup>th</sup>. 1780:

It is Lord Cornwallis's orders that the Corps Commanded by Lt Col: Watson, is put under the Command of Lord Rawdon;<sup>57</sup> His Lordship requests Gen<sup>l</sup>. Leslie to leave them in the room of the 64<sup>th</sup>. Regt. who have orders to Join the Army.

NELSON'S FERRY,<sup>58</sup>26<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780.*Brigdr Gen<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara's Orders*

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Leslie, having again Join'd the Command all Orders, Will be given, & reports made Accordingly.

<sup>57</sup> Francis, Lord Rawdon, Marquis of Hastings, 1754-1826, embarked for America in 1775, where he distinguished himself in the early northern campaigns. He was appointed adjutant-general in 1778 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1780 he raised and commanded the "Volunteers of Ireland." In 1782 he was made a colonel; in 1783, a peer; in 1793, a major-general; in 1813, governor-general of India; and in 1824, governor and commander-in-chief of Malta. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 451.

<sup>58</sup> Nelson's Ferry on the Santee River near Eutaw Springs.



NELSON'S FERRY,

26<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780*Orders*Parole, *Cornwallis*C S, *Rawden*

The Troops to receive one Days prov<sup>ns</sup>. for the 27<sup>th</sup>. Inclusive of all Species. The Brigade of Guards to be ready to Cross the River early tomorrow Morning, they are to take their Loaded Waggon and Horses with them. The Officers are again Cautioned that no Waggon will be Allow'd them farther than Camden. As the Enemy have small parties in the Opposite Swamp, by Which some people were taken Yesterday, the Gen<sup>l</sup>. desires that the Commanding Officers of Corps, will be particularly Attentive in not allowing their people to Straggle.

NELSON'S FERRY,

26<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780.*After Orders 6 oClock at Night*

The Brigade of Guards to be under Arms, & their Baggage Loaded ready to March by day break tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. The 2 Six pounders will be ready to move with the Guards. The 2 three pounders will receive further Orders from M G<sup>l</sup>. Leslie, but not to Harness their Horses 'till further Orders. It is recommended to the Troops to take the greatest care of their Bread the Commissary Gen<sup>l</sup>. being short in this Article. The Troops will receive two days Prov<sup>ns</sup>. of all Species, to mor<sup>w</sup>. morn<sup>g</sup>. at Day break, at the Commiss<sup>y</sup>. Store, & any deficiency that may be in the Article of Bread, will be made up in pease, & other Articles which will be forwarded after them as soon as possible. As the Extra Waggon at Present given for the Assistance of the Corps, are Wanted for other indispensable Service, they are to be Deliver'd up to the Q<sup>r</sup> Mr. Gen<sup>l</sup>. as the first Allotment of Waggon can Only be Allowed for the Transport<sup>n</sup>. of Baggage, which the Officers are desir'd to lighten by Bat Horses as much as possible, the Road over which they are to pass being extremely bad.

27<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780

Field Off<sup>r</sup>. for the picq<sup>t</sup>. this Night L<sup>t</sup> Col: Schutz. The Ord<sup>r</sup>. respecting Bat Men Woman, Serv<sup>ts</sup>. & other followers of the Army is repeated, any person who may be again found out of the Line of March, will be punished on the Spot, in the most Exemplary Manner. All Blacks, or people found in the Camp, not belonging to Off<sup>rs</sup>. or Dep<sup>tmts</sup>. are im<sup>dy</sup>. to be Conf<sup>d</sup>. in the Prov<sup>t</sup>. The Brig<sup>de</sup>. of G<sup>ds</sup>. the forage, and Q<sup>r</sup> Mr Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Guard. the Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose- the Provost.



*Morning Orders 28<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780*

Each Corps Will send 2 Waggon with a Ser<sup>t</sup>. a Corp<sup>l</sup> & 12 privates Under the Com<sup>d</sup>. of an Officer & 30 Yag<sup>rs</sup> to Collect forage at Littles House, they will be join'd at L Col. Watsons Post by 150 of the provincial Lt. Inf<sup>ry</sup>. who will on the Return of the Wag<sup>ns</sup>. Halt at their own Camp leaving the Off<sup>rs</sup>. & 30 Yagers & c<sup>a</sup> to Escort the Wag<sup>ns</sup>. to Camp. The Wag<sup>ns</sup>. to Assemble Im<sup>dy</sup>. in the Road near the 2 Six pounders. All people taken up in Camp agreeable to the Ord<sup>rs</sup>. of last Night are to be sent to the provost Guard to be in future posted in the rear of the 2 Six pounders.

*After Morn<sup>g</sup>. Orders 28<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780*

It being propos'd to forage in another Quarter independ<sup>t</sup> of the Party Order'd this Morn<sup>g</sup>. All the Waggon & Bat Men now remain<sup>g</sup>: in Camp will parade at 9 oClock in the Road near the 2 Six pounders. To Cover Which the Brigade of G<sup>ds</sup>. will give-

	FO	Cap <sup>tns</sup> .	Sub:	S - C - P
	1	2	-	6 - 6 - 150
Reg <sup>t</sup> DeBose	.	1	2	4 - 4 - 100
Total	1	3	2	10 - 10 - 250

The F: O: will receive his orders at the Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Tent. The Reg<sup>ts</sup>. may call in their Picq<sup>ts</sup>. in front, & on the Flanks leaving a Small G<sup>d</sup>. at Each post—The New Picq<sup>ts</sup>. will be posted at 4 oClock this Even<sup>g</sup>.

## SUMPTER HOUSE,

*Orders 11 O'Clock*

Some Cattle will be Im<sup>dy</sup> Slaughter'd for the Use of the Officers, a Butcher with proper Assist<sup>ts</sup>. from Each Corps, will immed<sup>y</sup>. Attend for this purpose, at the Cattle Pen, below Sumpter House.<sup>59</sup>

H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. SUMPTER HOUSE,Dr. y<sup>e</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup> 1780

Parole,

C Sign, Drayton

Field Off<sup>r</sup>. for the Pickets this Night Maj D'Puis—The Troops will receive the Bread deficient in y<sup>e</sup>. last delivery together with one days Provisions & Rum to y<sup>e</sup>. 30<sup>th</sup>. Inst. Inclusive at the Commissaries Waggon at three oClock. The Troops will March tomorrow Morning at the same Hour & in y<sup>e</sup>. Same order- As usual tomorrow Morn. The Yagers

<sup>59</sup> Here follows a return to the form of handwriting which has prevailed thus far.



will Give the Advance & Rear Guards dividing the Detachment for this Purpose. When the Foraging Parties return the Q<sup>r</sup>. Masters of Corps will attend to receive their proportion. The Commiss<sup>y</sup>. will deliver at 4 oClock this Evening the Proportion of Fresh Provisions for the Off<sup>rs</sup>.  
Mem<sup>ms</sup>. The Baggage to Form in the Front of the Artillery—& the Picket to Come in at the Sound of the Yager Horn.<sup>60</sup>

CAMP, RICHINSON'S, HOUSE.,  
29<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. 80

Parole,C Sign, York

F. O. for the Picq<sup>ts</sup>. L<sup>t</sup> Col. Lovelace. The troops will March tomor<sup>w</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>. at the Same Hour & observe the Same Line of March, as of this day. The Reg<sup>t</sup>. DeBose will give the rear Guard Consisting of 1 Capt<sup>n</sup>. 1 Sub<sup>n</sup>. & 50 private.

Detail of Duty											C	P
Q <sup>r</sup> Mr. Gen <sup>ls</sup> . G <sup>d</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
Pay M <sup>rs</sup> .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
Hosp <sup>l</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
Cattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
Provost	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
Forage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
											6	36

One days fresh prov<sup>ns</sup> to be delivered for the Use of the Corps at the Commissary Generals, as Soon as Slaughterd; of which the Quart<sup>r</sup>. Mas- ters will inform themselves.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup> SINGLETONS HOUSE,  
30<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1780

Parole,C Sign, Dublin

Field Off<sup>r</sup>. for the Picq<sup>ts</sup>. L<sup>t</sup> Col Stuart. The Troops to march at the same hour & in the same Ord<sup>r</sup>. as this day excepting that the Whole of the Yag<sup>rs</sup> will march in the front, & the Gren<sup>dr</sup>. Comp<sup>y</sup> of the G<sup>ds</sup>. in front of the Guns- The L<sup>t</sup>. Compy will form the Rear Guard.

<sup>60</sup> The remainder of the manuscript volume, except the orders for January 4, 1781 and the Brigade Orders for January 30, is in the handwriting which up to this point has appeared only occasionally.



*Detail for Duty*

									C	P
17 <sup>th</sup> Dr—	Forage G <sup>d</sup> .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
G <sup>ds</sup> .	{ Q <sup>r</sup> M <sup>r</sup> Gen <sup>ls</sup> .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
	{ P M Gen <sup>ls</sup> .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
	{ Hosp <sup>l</sup> Guard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
Reg <sup>t</sup> DeBose	{ Provost G <sup>d</sup> .	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6
	{ Com <sup>y</sup> . Gen <sup>ls</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6

The Com<sup>ry</sup>. will immed<sup>y</sup>. Issue to the Troops One days fresh prov<sup>ns</sup>. & Rum, together with a proportion of one Bushel of Potatoes to Eight Men in Lieu of Bread being to the 31<sup>st</sup>. Inst. Inclusive.

*Morning Orders 31<sup>st</sup>. Decem<sup>r</sup>. 1780*

M:G<sup>l</sup>. Leslie having been pleas'd to Signify his Intention of going forward to morrow Morning; All Orders during his Absence, will be given by B Gen<sup>l</sup>: O'Hara.

CAMP RAVENORS CREEK,

31<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. 80

*B: G<sup>l</sup>: O'Hara's Orders*

Parole,

C Sign, Gloucester

F: O: for the Picq<sup>ts</sup>. this Night L<sup>t</sup> Col: Pennington. The Corps will relieve the Guards agreeable to the detail of Yesterday. The Army will March to Morrow Morning at the same hour and in the Same Order as this day. One days Fresh provisions & Rum Will be Issued to the Troops (being for the 1<sup>st</sup>. Jan<sup>r</sup>. 1781). As soon as Slaughter'd, for which purpose the Butchers of the different Corps Will Attend the Commissary immediately at the Cattle Pen, near the first House in the Road. The Forage Guard is taken off.

[To be Continued]



## HISTORICAL NOTES

Edited by D. L. CORBITT

The notes in this issue consist of a hand bill written by Thomas Blount in behalf of his candidacy in 1798 for reëlection to Congress from the Ninth Congressional District; a letter by an elector addressed to the freemen of the Ninth Congressional District relative to Thomas Blount's candidacy; an article on religion and the first church building in the town of Halifax; a letter from Barbara Fisher to George Fisher Junior; an abstract of the value of land and slaves in North Carolina in 1815; a tabulation of the census of the judicial districts in 1800; items on the early career of Gabriel Johnston and obituary notices.

### CAMPAIGN HAND BILL OF THOMAS BLOUNT <sup>1</sup>

The following publications, which have been circulated in hand bills, I have thought proper to republish in the news paper.

A. HODGE.

*To the Freemen of the counties of Halifax, Northampton, Martin, Edgecombe, Pitt and Beaufort, composing Election District No. 9.*

THE approaching election now calls upon me to assume and avow some unequivocal character, in which, either from duty or inclination I am willing to meet it—and in the present unhappy situation of our public affairs, it being fully ascertained by the arrival of Mr. Marshall <sup>2</sup> at this place, that two of our Envoys have left Paris, after experiencing the fatal necessity of relinquishing the object of their mission; and that the other remains there only to receive further instruction without an expectation or hope of accomplishing it, I cannot for a moment hesitate to determine what that character shall be.

I have, indeed, for eighteen months past, felt a wish to retire from public life at the expiration of the time for which you last elected <sup>3</sup> me, and if our country now enjoyed, or could reasonably expect to enjoy in any short time, the blessing of tranquility, I should ask your permission to indulge it.—But at a crisis like the present, which is in all its aspects more alarming to the United States, if not to the world, than any other that has yet happened, my love of my country, and my

<sup>1</sup> *The North Carolina Journal*, Aug. 6, 1798.

<sup>2</sup> John Marshall, Charles C. Pinckney and Elbridge Gerry were appointed as envoys to France. They arrived October 5, 1797 and negotiations ended in March 1798 without accomplishing their mission. At the end of the negotiations Pinckney went to south France because of his daughters health. Marshall returned to the United States. Gerry remained in Paris as Talleyrand said France would declare war against the United States if he abandoned the mission. Channing, Edward, *A History of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Blount's term expired March 3, 1799. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, p. 914.



sense of the danger which threatens it, will not permit me to allow any weight to private or personal considerations of any kind; and, therefore, feeling still with undiminished force that high respect for the equal rights of mankind, that just veneration for our constitution, and that strong attachment to your general and particular interests which first stimulated and emboldened me to solicit the important public trust I now hold;<sup>4</sup> and remembering that when I accepted that trust I voluntarily covenanted to make my own individual ease and convenience at all times subservient to the duties imposed by it, I find myself irresistibly impelled, both by duty and inclination, to renew to you the offer of my services by an explicit declaration that I am again a candidate for that very high honour which you have heretofore thrice<sup>5</sup> conferred on me, and which I beg you to be assured I have always gratefully received, and zealously and faithfully endeavoured to deserve.

But, my fellow-citizens, to assure you that I have heretofore served you with fidelity, and that I shall hereafter be devoted to your service is not sufficient—my enemies, to deprive me of that confidence which you have hitherto so generously reposed in me, probably with a hope of securing it to themselves, or to one of their more intimate friends, have been base enough to slander my private character, by fabricating and insidiously circulating among you a report, that I am implicated in the frauds<sup>6</sup> lately discovered to have been committed on our land-office—And as a Representative ought not only to be virtuous, but to appear so, I owe it no less to you than to myself, to refute the slander—and therefore, besides subjoining a copy of a letter from the Solicitor-General,<sup>7</sup> proving that such a report is not warranted either by the report of the Board of Commissioners, or by any thing else that he has seen, the original of which letter may be seen in the hands of Thaddeus Barnes, Esq. of the town of Halifax, I must beg leave to state for your information, and recommend to your attention, the following plain and incontrovertible facts, viz.

1. That to the best of my recollection, I never in my life assigned, endorsed, or otherwise transferred, or joined with any other person in

<sup>4</sup> Blount was first elected in 1792. *North Carolina Manual, 1913, p. 913.*

<sup>5</sup> Blount served from Dec. 1793 to March 1799. *North Carolina Manual, 1913, pp. 913, 914.*

<sup>6</sup> In 1797 Governor Ashe discovered irregularities in issuing land grants. He called the matter to the attention of the Council of State, but at first it was not thought there were any frauds, for the officers were men of high reputation. However, when the legislature met in November a board of inquiry was appointed. John Armstrong had charge of the land office in Nashville, Tennessee. William Tyrrell, clerk in the Raleigh office, would issue grants calling for corners and specifying acreage, and the lines when run would embrace land from ten to one hundred times as much acreage as mentioned. There were other methods of fraud devised. When discoveries were made Tyrrell fled. In April 1798 it was rumored that a movement was on foot to burn the capitol and destroy the papers, but Governor Ashe frustrated it. Ashe, S. A., *History of North Carolina*, Vol. II, pp. 152, 153. James Glasgow, the secretary of state since 1776, was tried and convicted of fraud in issuing land grants. Boyd, W. K. *History of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Jones was solicitor-general, 1792-1827, *North Carolina Manual, 1913, p. 445.* Jones was born in Lilburn, Ireland. He was brother to William Todd Jones, the Irish Patriot. He was bred a merchant, and early emigrated to America and entered the mercantile business in Philadelphia. In 1786, he settled in Wilmington and entered the mercantile business, but failed. He then studied law and soon rose to distinction. He represented Wilmington in the General Assembly. 1788-1791, and was solicitor general 1792-1827. He died in Pittsboro August 8, 1842. *North Carolina Manual, 1913, pp. 445, 719; Wheeler, J. H., Historical Sketches of North Carolina, Vol. II, p. 290.*



assigning, endorsing, or otherwise transferring a land-warrant, of any kind or description, to any person or persons whatever, except the warrant issued to me in my own name for my military services<sup>8</sup> as a Lieutenant in the Continental army, and I did not until lately recollect that I had in any manner conveyed that.

2. That to the best of my recollection and belief, I never saw or touched a land-warrant issued from John Armstrong's<sup>9</sup> office.

3. That I neither know, nor have at any time known, either the amount, number of denominations of the land-warrants that have been issued from John Armstrong's office, to or for the use of J. G.<sup>10</sup> & Thomas Blount; & that to this moment I do not know where Armstrong's office was kept, or to what amount entries for John G. & Thomas Blount were made in it.

4. That the whole business of John G. & Thomas Blount, in respect to all lands and land-warrants, owned or claimed by or under that firm, military lands only excepted, has been conducted by John G. Blount, in a manner nearly as little known to me as to any one of you; and that in respect to military lands, I have had no agency since May 1785, nor prior to that time, except in purchasing a few warrants, which are all accurately described by their numbers and contents in the books kept by me at Tarborough: in which will also be found the names of the persons they were issued to, the names of the persons I bought them of, the prices at which I brought them, and the articles I paid for them.

5. That I never knew, heard or suspected, that duplicate warrants had been or could be obtained either from John Armstrong's office, or from the office of the Secretary of State, under any possible circumstances, or by any possible means, until last week, when I was told that a law authorising the issuing of duplicates, under particular circumstances and restrictions, was passed at Raleigh in the year 1795, and of course I could not have known, heard or suspected that such warrants had been obtained by, for or under a power from John G. & Thomas Blount.

6. That I never knew, heard or suspected, that John G. Blount, or any other person, had at any time assigned, endorsed, or otherwise transferred, to any person or persons whatever, any land-warrant that had been issued to John G. & Thomas Blount, either from John Armstrong's office, or from the office of the Secretary of State, until I received information that there was a report in circulation which stated such a charge. And,

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<sup>8</sup> Thomas Blount was appointed ensign in the New Bern District April 22, 1776. Wheeler, J. H., *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, Vol. I, p. 80. He was made first lieutenant April 28, 1777. *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XVI, p. 1013.

<sup>9</sup> John Armstrong had charge of the land office in Nashville, Tennessee. *Vide* note 6 above.

<sup>10</sup> John Gray Blount was a brother of Thomas Blount. They ran a mercantile business in Washington, N. C., and Tarboro, N. C. Turner, J. K. and Bridgers, J. L. Jr., *History of Edgecombe County North Carolina*, p. 109n.



7. That if Stokely Donnelson has at any time had a power of attorney from John G. & Thomas Blount, to do business for them of any sort, it must have been executed by John G. Blount, in virtue of his right as principal and acting partner of the firm to give such a power—for I do not know that such a power ever was given, and with Stokely Donnelson I have never transacted any sort of business.

To these facts, which I am ready to verify by my oath, I could, if it were necessary, add many others also tending to prove the utter impossibility that I have been guilty of the crime imputed to me; but I am too conscious of my own integrity to suppose that any of you can have entertained of me such a suspicion as would require even these to remove it, and therefore I shall forbear to trouble you further on the subject, and conclude my address, which I trust you will have the goodness to suppose has not been too long delayed, or delayed at all by a want of proper respect for you, by assuring you, that if you should again accept my services, you will again confer an honour, which like those already conferred, will always be held in the most grateful remembrance by your faithful servant and friend,

THOMAS BLOUNT.<sup>11</sup>

N. B. The subjoined letter from Edward Jones, was not received until yesterday.

*Philadelphia, 24th June, 1798.*

*Raleigh, June 10, 1798.*

SIR,—I WAS favoured with yours of the 17th ult. at Fayetteville, on my way to the Circuit Court<sup>12</sup> at this place, and should have replied to it sooner had I not been entirely occupied by the business of the court, and a reference to some official papers made a postponement for some days necessary.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Blount, the son of Jacob, and brother of John Gray and William Blount, was born May 10, 1759. He saw service in the Revolution, was captured and carried to England as a prisoner of war. After the Revolution he entered the mercantile business at Washington, N. C. and Tarboro, N. C. with his brother, John Gray Blount, and did shipping business. He represented Edgecombe County in the state senate, 1799 and in the house of commons, 1789, 1797, and in the convention of 1789. He was a representative in Congress from 1793-99, 1805-09, 1811 and until his death Feb. 7, 1812. Wheeler, J. H., *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 143; *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, pp. 599, 600, 878, 913, 914, 917, 191; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1927*, p. 712.

<sup>12</sup> In 1790 the legislature passed an act dividing the State into an Eastern and Western riding. The Western riding was composed of the Morgan, Salisbury, Hillsboro and Fayetteville judicial districts, and the Eastern riding was composed of the Edenton, Newbern, Halifax and Wilmington judicial districts. This act also provided for the appointment of a solicitor general who had the same powers and were under the same restrictions, and had the same allowances and fees as the attorney general. It also provided that the solicitor general and attorney general should arrange among themselves so one should attend court in each riding. John Haywood was appointed solicitor general in 1790 and served until 1792 when Edward Jones was appointed and served until 1827. In 1827 John Scott was appointed and served until 1835. In 1835 John F. Poindexter was appointed and served until 1840. In 1838 the legislature elected John F. Poindexter solicitor of the fourth judicial district in which he, as the solicitor general, had been serving for four years. *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXV, pp. 66-67; *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 445; *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, sessions, 1827-1828*. Journal of the Senate, p. 41; *Ibid.*, 1831-32, p. 34; *Ibid.*, 1835, p. 27; *Ibid.*, 1838-39, p. 47.



You will permit me to assure you, that I am impressed with much concern that your feelings, and perhaps political interests, should be injured by the report you are advised of, as circulating at Halifax.

I can only say it had not its source with me, nor have I impliedly or directly afforded any credit to it, but on the contrary have reprobated the promoters of it. Indeed I have always set too high a value on my own feelings not to pay particular respect to those of others.

In one point of information you are not truly advised, to wit, as "to the investigation being secretly carried on under *my* direction"—Commissioners were appointed by the Legislature to make an investigation—they were directed to report to the Governor, and he to supply me with the consequent information—That report (for no copy has been taken of it) has remained in my hands, so that the object of your uneasiness must, as I take it, proceed from some ill-natured surmise.

I charged many people at Hillsborough, but your name was not mentioned with any criminality or dishonour attached to it.

It is true that the Commissioners in their report, have reported that a great many warrants have been drawn in John Armstrong's office in the name of J. G. & T. B. on which duplicates have issued, the originals of which appear in the office—some of them assigned in the name of J. G. & T. B. to Stokely Donnelson—others by S. D. attorney for J. G. & T. B. to himself—that surveys have been had on each differently located, and that it does not appear on what pretence these duplicates have issued. Since receiving your letter, I have examined the assignments, and it did not appear to me that any of them were in your hand-writing, and I believe I know the hand-writing of all of them.

However this will probably be the cause of future investigation. In the mean time I thought it proper not to take any notice of it officially.

In giving you the foregoing information I see nothing improper—official secrecy I have some times found necessary, but the present case *to you* is not one that demands it.

I have, however, as far as my feeble influence reached, clogged the currency of the report long before I received your letter.—I did so, because I thought it was unjust and ungenerous. And though our political sentiments may not entirely correspond, I have always thought our principles of honour and integrity allied.

Under the foregoing circumstances, should you think proper to make use of the little matter this letter contains, you are at liberty so to do.

I am sorry the renewal of our correspondence should have so disagreeable a cause for it.

With respect, I am, Sir, Your very obedient,

ED. JONES.

Thomas Blount, Esq. Philadelphia.



*LETTER TO THE FREEMEN OF THE NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT* <sup>13</sup>

*To the Freemen of the counties of Halifax, Northampton, Martin, Edgecombe, Pitt and Beaufort, composing Election District No. 9.*

IT is no longer a secret whether Mr. Blount <sup>14</sup> is a Candidate to represent you in the Congress of the United States.

He has published a lengthy address, denying some charges against him; and asserting that they were propogated by his enemies, probably to secure your confidence to themselves or their intimate friends.—Let us for a moment enquire into the nature of those charges, and from whence they arose, and compare them and the Solicitor-General's letter with his Address, whether he is that very immaculate, upright and virtuous man he professes to be. The Legislature of North-Carolina, at their last session of Assembly, discovered that great frauds in the obtaining of land-warrants and grants had been committed in the Secretary's office. It being late in the session before the discovery was made, they thought it most adviseable to appoint Commissioners to examine into the matter. Those Commissioners after fully investigating the business, reported to the Governor at Raleigh, on the 4th or 5th day of April; and he laid the same before the Solicitor-General, Edward Jones, Esquire, at Hillsborough superior court, which commenced on the 6th day of April. The substance of this report so far as it concerned Mr. Thomas Blount, soon transpired, and coming to the ears of Mr. Barnes, of Halifax, he immediately informed Mr. Blount of it. Mr. Blount then wrote to Mr. Barnes an answer, denying the charges, and positively asserting that they were circulated by his enemies for the purpose of injuring his election—when it was not known that he was a candidate. Mr. Barnes again wrote him, that he actually was reported against by the Commissioners, as having been concerned, jointly with John G. Blount, in procuring fraudulent duplicate land-warrants to a very great amount.—I am warranted in saying upwards of 120,000 acres; of which the state has undoubtedly been defrauded. Whether Mr. Thomas Blount had any knowledge of the frauds at the time they were practising has not as yet been satisfactorily ascertained, but that he was interested in them must appear very evident from his own address, when he admits a land-jobbing connexion with his brother, under the firm of John G. & Thomas Blount—under which all the frauds were committed.

When Mr. Blount went on to Philadelphia last, he could not determine whether he would be a candidate again or not, because he had

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<sup>13</sup> *The North Carolina Journal*, Aug. 5, 1798.

<sup>14</sup> Blount was elected in 1796 with a majority of more than 1200 votes, but was defeated in 1798 by an approximate majority of 1700 votes. *North Carolina Historical Review*, Jan. 1932, Vol. IX, No. I, p. 85.



been implicated in the charges against his brother William,<sup>15</sup> the late Governor of Tennessee and Senator in Congress; or rather because it might be supposed that he was implicated. He said that his intentions should be made known in March—behold! they are not known till July. What is the cause of this delay? Let me answer—It was known in Philadelphia by the first of March, that great frauds had been practised in the Secretary's office on land-warrants and grants, and that an investigation was to be had on the subject. It was therefore a cause of serious alarm to every person who had been deeply interested in land speculation. Mr. Blount, from conscious guilt, withheld from declaring himself a candidate, until he should acquire certain information of the extent of the discoveries made against him; and it was not till after he had received the Solicitor-General's milky letter, that he even ventured to come forward through the prudent channel of a hand-bill—had he manfully published his Address in the news-paper, it would have been a free subject for every one to remark on.

We need only have recourse to the 4th fact (as he terms it) set forth in Mr. Blount's Address to fix on him the character of a land speculator. It is in these words—"That the whole business of John G. & Thomas Blount in respect to all lands and land-warrants owned or claimed under that firm, military lands only excepted, has been conducted by John G. Blount, in a manner nearly as little known to me (as to any one of you)."—Can any man believe this to be a fact, when there always existed the most intimate brotherly intercourse betwixt them? The purchase money of 120,000 acres of land in John Armstrong's office, amounted to 12,000£. in certificates—Was Mr. Thomas Blount's circumstances such, that he would have advanced the half of that sum and never have enquired about it—when it is a notorious fact that they have been exceedingly embarrassed in their pecuniary circumstances, owing to their immense land speculations?

It appears from the Solicitor-General's letter, which Mr. Blount has annexed as a part of his Address, that a future investigation is to be had on the subject aforementioned.—When this investigation takes place, we shall the better be able to judge of Mr. Blount's innocence; but in the mean time would it not be the height of folly and madness to re-elect a man to an office of the highest trust and confidence, while labouring under so well grounded suspicions?

<sup>15</sup> William Blount, brother of Thomas, was born March 26, 1749; was paymaster of the Continental troops, North Carolina, in 1777; served in the house of commons, 1780-84; member of the Continental Congress in 1782, 1783, 1786, and 1787; member of the state senate, 1788-1790; appointed governor of the Territory South of the Ohio River by Washington in 1790; superintendent of Indian affairs, 1790-1796; chairman of the convention that framed the first constitution of Tennessee, Feb. 6, 1796; upon the admission of Tennessee as a state into the Union was elected United States Senator, and served from August 2, 1796, until he was found guilty of "a high misdemeanor, entirely inconsistent with his public trust and duty as a Senator," and was expelled July 8, 1797; was active in a plan to incite the Creeks and Cherokees to aid the British in conquering the Spanish territory of West Florida; impeachment proceedings were instituted, but dismissed; during the trial was elected state senator of Tennessee; died in Knoxville, Tennessee, March 21, 1800. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 712.



Mr. Blount has one session of Congress yet to serve whether he is re-elected or not, should he be again chosen it might possibly prevent the future investigation the Solicitor-General talks of—it must at least postpone it two years. The effect of delay in public prosecutions, is too well known in this country to require commenting on.

Mr. Thomas Blount says that he never assigned, indorsed or otherwise transferred any land-warrants granted to John G. & Thomas Blount, or knew that John G. Blount or any other person had, and the Solicitor-General says, that the assignments did not appear to be in his hand-writing. This is ingeniously avoiding the charge. The crime with which the Blounts are charged, is not in assigning the original warrants, but in fraudulently obtaining the duplicate warrants—that is to say, in getting warrants and titles for 120,000 acres of land, for which they never had paid a farthing.

The Solicitor-General says, “that it does not appear under what pretence these duplicates have issued.” This is very censurable official trifling, and will not veil this dirty business.—Every man knows that they could not have been obtained honestly: it must either have been by fraud or perjury.

The Solicitor-General says he did not indict him at last Hillsborough superior court. Why not? If he does not indict them next court, there is neither virtue nor justice left in the country, and the laws may then truly be compared to cobwebs—equal to the catching of small flies but easily broke through by the wasps.

In fact, does not Mr. Blount in his address, admit that the frauds were committed under the firm of John G. and Thomas Blount, and for their benefit? His pocketing the profits, and attempting to saddle his brother with the whole criminality, is too stale a trick to impose on any one.

However as Mr. Blount’s address is pretty generally circulated throughout the district, it is thought unnecessary to make any further observations on it, as every person will be able to judge for himself after reading it—if positively denying charges, were sufficient to exculpate a man, very few would be found guilty.

*July 20, 1798.*

AN ELECTOR.



A HOUSE OF PUBLIC WORSHIP ATTEMPTED IN  
HALIFAX <sup>16</sup>

For the NORTH-CAROLINA JOURNAL.  
THE CHURCH.

ON Friday last was raised in this town the frame of a CHURCH.—The Town of Halifax <sup>17</sup> was incorporated in May, 1759, and the first house of public worship is attempted after 34 years. The sum subscribed, we are informed, amounts to about 400£. The subscription is still open to those who wish to encourage this *useful institution*.

No preference is given to any particular mode of Divine Homage by the Laws of North-Carolina. They force no formula upon the *tongue* of citizens for the purpose of encreasing the revenues of Priests and Bishops. RELIGION is a business between HUMAN CONSCIENCE and the ETERNAL MIND, therefore the wisdom and modesty of our Law is silent where it ought not to command. It prohibits vice and immorality. It cherishes, in the bosom of patronage, the means of virtue and knowledge.

All knowledge is useful—and religious knowledge is most eminently calculated for the promotion and encouragement of social happiness and governmental purposes. It enjoins peace and good order to life—bestows tranquility to death, and open to the eyes of hope, the doors, of immorality. It acquaints men with the nature, essence and attributes of the Deity; and recommends his imitable qualities, goodness, love, truth and justice, to human imitation.

Independent of the mild, the divine precepts thus taught, there are other advantages: and the first is *amendment of manners*. The intercourse of men is at all times conducive to this end—but when convened for the purpose of divine adoration, the heart is invited and directed towards perfection in friendship and good-will—the temper and disposition softened in their harshness and asperity, and the inclination for mutual confidence strengthening, the manners become gradually dispossessed of unruly passion, uncourtly behaviour and hostile language.

*Amendment of morals.* Nothing can be more propitious to morality than the lessons of instruction delivered from the pulpit. Memory is imperfect—we cannot therefore retain. Passion is violent—we need therefore constant admonition.

<sup>16</sup> *The North Carolina Journal*, June 26, 1793.

<sup>17</sup> The first law relative to establishing the town of Halifax was passed in 1757. This law provided that the purchasers of lots should erect houses on their respective lots within three years from the date of purchase, said houses to be at least sixteen feet square and ten feet in the pitch. In 1759 another act was passed providing among other things that the purchasers of lots should have five years from date of purchase in which to erect houses on their lots because "the small pox have raged in the said town for many months past, whereby many persons have been prevented from saving their lots, agreeable to the direction of said act." The town was established on the land of James Leslie. *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXV, pp. 354, 398.



*Domestic tranquility* is a happy consequence of public preaching. Agreeable manners and good morals are highly essential in the well-ordered family. The injunction of the RELATIVE DUTIES sink into the bosoms of all, because all are tenderly concerned in their application. Hence every man knows himself, and hence is formed the affectionate parent, the dutiful child, the faithful wife and provident husband.

UNIVERSALIST.

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LETTER FROM BARBARA FISHER TO GEORGE FISHER  
JUNIOR <sup>18</sup>

May 25, anno 1791

George Fisher, Junior:

Greetings to you and your wife and children. As regards ourselves, we are all hale and hearty as long as God wills. I trust that thus these few lines may also find you and your family.

With Klotz I am sending you a scythe and a whetstone and a Testament.

Your father has sold the place where he lived. He kept 23 acres of it near Cold Spring <sup>19</sup> where he has a house and barn. He has been living there since last fall.

Your sister Catherine has gone to Pitzborg, but as yet we have not received any news from her. Your sister Anna Maria is also no longer at home and your sister Susanna is also no longer at home and your brother Herman is also no longer at home. Your brother Philip is learning the tailor's trade at the Trapp.<sup>20</sup>

All this I, Barbara Fisher, your mother, am sending you. I do not know much more to write. Your sister Christine is still at home and your brother James and your brother Wendell are also still at home.

This much from me,

BARBARA FISCHER

On the reverse we find this legend: "This letter shall reach George Fisher in North Carolina."

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<sup>18</sup> The following letter was located, translated, and supplied by William H. Gehrke, 2413 Walker Avenue, Greensboro, N. C. The translation was made from a photostat which is in the possession of J. L. Fisher, Salisbury, N. C. who is a direct descendant of the Fisher to whom the letter was addressed.

<sup>19</sup> The original German reads, "bei der Kalten spring." (Translator's note.)

<sup>20</sup> Providence, Pa. (Translator's note.)



AN ABSTRACT OF THE VALUE OF LANDS AND SLAVES <sup>21</sup>

*An Abstract View of the Value of Lands and Slaves in North-Carolina  
as assessed for the Direct Tax of 1815.*

	Value of Land.	Value of Slaves.	Average Value of Land pr Ac.	Average Value of Each Slave.	Proportion of Tax Paid by Each County
FIRST DISTRICT <sup>22</sup>	<i>Dolls.</i>	<i>Dolls.</i>	<i>D. C.</i>	<i>D. C.</i>	<i>D. C.</i>
Currituck-----	343,473	348,858	2-64	166-28	3,253-76
Camden-----	412,618	315,721	3-55	200	3,423-20
Pasquotank-----	496,342	352,262	4-25	179	3,894-44
Perquimons-----	563,021	409,211	4-63	187	4,569-50
Gates-----	544,444	574,944	3-37	168-40	5,261-12
Chowan-----	645,360	577,364	6-66	198-56	5,736-23
Hertford-----	830,081	675,486	4-18	188-73	7,076-17
SECOND DISTRICT					
Bertie-----	1,350,096	1,297,362	3-88	202-40	12,443- 5
Martin-----	587,503	510,358	3-9	201	5,160
Northampton-----	1,523,862	1,431,848	4-96	202-40	13,891-84
Halifax-----	2,061,540	1,858,563	5-43	215	18,424-50
THIRD DISTRICT					
Washington-----	437,512	292,171	2-59	200	3,429-52
Tyrrell-----	332,014	221,955	2-72	215-7	2,602-66
Hyde-----	818,287	489,800	2-39	235-70	5,370-32
Pitt-----	1,399,719	880,548	3-94	216-20	10,717-25
Edgecomb-----	1,926,572	1,435,450	4-34	229-68	14,753-80
Beaufort-----	810,819	568,016	2-44	212-27	6,480-75
FOURTH DISTRICT					
Greene-----	549,244	478,470	3-72	212	4,830-26
Craven-----	1,787,931	977,391	3-81	202-56	12,997- 2
Carteret-----	385,131	265,225	2-43	206-88	3,056-68
Jones-----	711,020	476,402	3-53	193-10	5,580-89
Lenoir-----	724,993	586,328	3-63	207-41	6,163-21
Johnston-----	846,865	595,965	1-79	213- 5	6,781-30
Wayne-----	1,144,626	602,231	3-52	193-20	8,210-22
FIFTH DISTRICT					
Warren-----	1,045,425	1,285,937	3-60	227	11,561-78
Franklin-----	916,713	979,905	3-32	213	8,914-10
Nash-----	703,034	766,692	2-15	222	6,906-71
Granville-----	1,161,446	1,664,355	2-64	220	13,281-26
SIXTH DISTRICT					
Onslow-----	605,153	556,185	2-62	240-37	5,435- 2
New-Hanover-----	1,293,399	1,017,104	3-61	242-36	10,859-35
Duplin-----	729,097	799,075	1-83	*	7,182-41
Sampson-----	769,301	583,291	1-71	219-52	6,857-18
Brunswick-----	516,189	468,947	1-17	244	4,630-14
Bladen-----	554,276	558,619	1-26	239-80	5,230-61
Columbus-----	167,964	382,012	85	*	1,795-45

\*No particular Return was made of the Slaves in these Counties.

<sup>21</sup> Raleigh Register, and North-Carolina State Gazette, Nov. 24, 1815.

<sup>22</sup> These are congressional districts.



AN ABSTRACT OF THE VALUE OF LANDS AND SLAVES <sup>21</sup>

*An Abstract View of the Value of Lands and Slaves in North-Carolina  
as assessed for the Direct Tax of 1815.*

	Value of Land.	Value of Slaves.	Average Value of Land pr Ac	Average Value of Each Slave.	Proportion of Tax Paid by Each County
SEVENTH DISTRICT					
Cumberland.....	1,293,805	929,975	1-71	233	10,442-37
Robeson.....	504,103	400,665	1- 3	247	4,252-36
Montgomery.....	519,637	446,184	1-24	257	4,539-41
Richmond.....	463,992	382,038	1-56	246	3,971-65
Anson.....	509,548	571,370	1-40	235	5,080-34
Moore.....	359,029	227,680	1-11	235	2,757-55
EIGHTH DISTRICT					
Wake.....	1,721,800	1,501,536	3- 5	225	15,149-68
Orange.....	1,917,993	1,216,347	3-25	236	14,731-40
Person.....	511,745	661,892	2-41	221	5,516-10
NINTH DISTRICT					
Rockingham.....	729,472	568,180	2-33	241	6,098-96
Caswell.....	786,946	945,755	3	213-24	8,143-70
Guilford.....	1,186,254	397,203	3- 5	251-87	7,442-25
Stokes.....	899,669	502,500	2-38	259-28	6,590-20
TENTH DISTRICT					
Rowan.....	2,176,720	1,179,650	2-85	242-40	15,774-94
Randolph.....	891,207	254,550	2-18	233	5,385- 6
Chatham.....	1,068,085	795,222	2-11	237	8,734- 4
ELEVENTH DISTRICT					
Lincoln.....	1,285,198	696,960	2- 3	235-30	9,316-14
Mecklenburg.....	1,309,334	955,864	3-20	246	10,594-74
Cabarrus.....	640,274	299,216	3-41	233-63	4,415-60
TWELFTH DISTRICT					
Buncombe.....	669,069	228,276	1-32	261-48	4,217-52
Haywood.....	201,916	62,964	1-28	263-60	1,207-95
Burke.....	840,481	422,389	1-34	249-86	5,935-49
Rutherford.....	942,914	454,258	1-42	248-32	6,566-71
THIRTEENTH DISTRICT					
Surry.....	841,226	335,243	1-60	262-50	5,529-40
Wilkes.....	457,253	273,772	1-77	242	3,435-82
Iredell.....	892,458	638,462	2	255	7,195-33
Ashe.....	211,321	46,117	1	262	1,209-96
				Total,	440,497-58

<sup>21</sup> *Ralph Register, and North Carolina, Nov. 24, 1815.*



# AGGREGATE CENSUS OF 1800 23

Of each Description of Persons in each Superior Court District in North-Carolina.

NAMES OF DISTRICTS.	Free White Males Under 10 Years Old.	W. Males Over 10 Under 16	W. Males Over 16 Under 26	W. Males of 26 Under 45	W. Males of 45 & Upwards	Fr. wh. Females Under 10 Years Old	Females, of 10 & Under 16	Females of 16 & Under 26	Females of 26 & Under 45	Females of 45 & Upwards	All Other Free Persons Except Untaxed Indians	Slaves	Aggregate Amount of Every Descrip
Morgan District	8999	3485	3810	3862	2540	8603	3191	3971	3751	2093	236	4643	49184
Salisbury	14470	6380	6994	7165	4529	13399	6051	7172	6493	4005	329	13389	90376
Hillsborough	11253	4583	5743	4620	2998	9958	4297	5595	4817	2728	1222	22198	80012
Halifax	6301	2942	3483	3298	2021	6092	2703	3721	3400	1988	1742	31445	69183
Edenton	5774	2658	3332	3524	1660	5627	3571	3503	3513	1894	1208	21632	56986
Newbern	6827	3060	2556	3801	1987	6678	3220	4169	3994	2040	968	20134	60434
Wilmington	3380	1406	1686	1881	1066	2969	1477	1857	1791	991	464	11649	30617
Fayetteville	6114	2559	2956	3058	1887	5748	2364	3001	2906	1776	784	8206	41358
Totals	63118	27073	31560	31209	18688	59074	25874	32989	30665	17514	7043	133296	478103

By the above Statement, which, as it is received from the Marshal of the district, is doubtless correct, it appears that the aggregate amount of every description of persons in the State, except Indians not taxed, is 470,103, from which deducting the Slaves, the total number of free persons in this State, is 344,807; of slaves, 133,296. Adding three-fifths of the latter to the former (agreeably to the constitutional rule) the number will be 424,748, which divided by 33,000, the number necessary to send a Representative to Congress, it will produce only *twelve* (leaving a surplus of 28,784 polls) instead of *fourteen*, which we some weeks ago estimated would be the number of Members which this State will be entitled to, from the new Census. This error arose from our taking the constitutional number of 30,000 polls for a member, instead of 33,000, which is the number since fixed by law.

<sup>23</sup> Raleigh Register, and North-Carolina State Gazette, July 21, 1801.  
<sup>24</sup> These are judicial districts.



The following notes with the introduction and comments on the early career of Gabriel Johnston were supplied by J. H. Baxter, professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews, Scotland.

*THE EARLY CAREER OF GABRIEL JOHNSTON,<sup>25</sup>  
GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA.*

Replying, in 1749, to the charge of being a Jacobite, Gabriel Johnston declared that for the last seven years before he came to North Carolina, he lived almost continually with the Lord President Wilmington, and it was no doubt this connection, along with the favour he had won as a political writer, that secured for Johnston his distinguished post. But of those early years there is still much to be investigated. It is in the hope of supplying some information that I reproduce these extracts from the unpublished minutes of the Senatus Academicus of the University of St. Andrews, in which Johnston was nominally professor of Hebrew between 1722 and 1728.

Nov. 24, 1721. The University recommended Mr Thomas Hadow for the Chair of Hebrew.

June 6, 1722. "The University being met, Mr. Gabriel Johnston, Student of Divinity, produced a patent from His Majestie, to be professor of Hebrew in the New College [i.e. St. Mary's College], and also a testimonial from the Presbytery of Dundie of his good behaviour and affection both to Church and State, which the University taking to their consideration appoint his Admission to be to-morrow at two of the Clock afternoon by the Rector.  
Robert Ramsay, Rector."

March 25, 1723.

Johnston is sent to Edinburgh to consult the lawyers about University affairs.

March 29, 1723.

Gabriel Johnston appointed to manage the affair of King Charles's mortification.

April 19, 1723.

He is appointed factor to receive payment of the said mortification.

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<sup>25</sup> Gabriel Johnston was governor of North Carolina, 1734-1752.



Dec. 24, 1724.

Johnston is appointed to have written 'upon a Sheet of Stampt Parchment' by Mr Barclay of Dundee in a fair hand and also "to cause to make a silver Box for holding the seal of the University to be appended to the parchment, at a cost of £4."

[The parchment was probably designed as a diploma for the newly appointed Chancellor of the University, the Duke of Chandos, who held that office from 1724 to 1746, during which time he founded the present Chair of Medicine in the University.]

Jan. 6, 1726.

Johnston reported to the Senatus that he had gone to London and "had pushed the matter of King Charles's Mortification, wherein the Duke of Chandos was very assisting."

Feb. 22, 1726.

Johnston returned from a similar task in Edinburgh.

Dec. 26, 1727.

Johnston is absent from Senatus. The Clerk is instructed to write and get back his commission [to the Chair of Hebrew?], which had expired on Whitsunday.

Jan. 31, 1728.

The Rector having received letters from Gabriel Johnston brings them before the Senatus for discussion and advice.

Feb. 26, 1728.

The Senatus "appoints a committee to draft a letter concerning Gabriel Johnston his insinuate design of demitting his office, and to report."

June 25, 1728.

Hugh Warrender is nominated to the vacant Chair of Hebrew in the New College.

From these notes it would appear that Johnston was more active in matters of business than in the pursuit of learning. The reference to his commission seems to imply that he had never been actually installed in his Chair, and the action of the University was probably directed to his installation and discharge of duties left undone during his many absences. Johnston by this time had in all likelihood found through his protector the Duke of Chandos other patrons willing and ready to use his services in spheres less academic. The



remaining years before his nomination to North Carolina seem to have been spent in London, and there no doubt further information will be found of his activities during that time. His connection with St. Andrews terminates with the appointment of his successor in 1728.

#### OBITUARIES PRIOR TO 1800

These obituary notices will be inserted from time to time covering the period prior to and including the year 1800. They will be taken from the North Carolina newspapers now on file in the offices of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

#### *FRANCIS CHILD DEAD* <sup>26</sup>

DIED) on the 7th inst. at Hillsborough, after a lingering illness, which he bore with manly fortitude, FRANCIS CHILDS, Esq, Comptroller of the accounts of this state. He discharged the duties of his office to the satisfaction of his country, and ever maintained the character of "An honest man."

#### *POEM ON FRANCIS CHILD* <sup>27</sup>

For the NORTH-CAROLINA JOURNAL.

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#### LINES ON THE DEATH OF

FRANCIS CHILD, ESQUIRE,

LATE COMPTROLLER OF THIS STATE.

AWAKE Melpomene, attend the string;  
Thy sacred succour to thy suppliant bring!  
Direct my numbers—teach my lines to flow,  
While I indite an Elegy of woe.  
But grief disdains the labour'd rules of art;  
An honest plainness speaks the bleeding heart:  
An heart like mine—a prey to keen despair,  
Deep pierc'd with anguish and with pungent care.  
O Francis! Francis! whom my soul held dear,  
Shall not a friend for friendship drop a tear?  
I hold the pen, and strive to check in vain  
The briny springs, that gush and rudely stain  
The lines unfinish'd; some this softness blame,  
And brand it with a harsh reproachful name.

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<sup>26</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Aug. 22, 1792.

<sup>27</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Sept. 5, 1792.



But who, that weighs the virtues of this man—  
 His generous candour, excellence, that can  
 Revile a friend, should he not cease to weep,  
 'Till tears had swell'd the wide extended deep?  
 His ev'ry act, his ev'ry turn of mind,  
 Bespoke a heart to honesty enclin'd;  
 A liberal heart with ev'ry good replete,—  
 To pride averse—a foe to soul deccit.  
 But Fate, relentless, pass'd the dire decree,  
 And snatch'd him, cruelly, from the world—and me.

*DAVID P. WHITING DEAD* <sup>28</sup>

DIED.) On Thursday night last, at the country seat of David Witherspoon, Esquire, Mr. DAVID P. WHITING, Merchant, of this [Newbern] town.

*EDWARD HOWARD, THOMAS BENBURY, AND MATTHEW  
 MALLEY DEAD* <sup>29</sup>

DIED.) A few days since, at his Plantation near this town [Fayetteville], Mr. EDWARD HOWARD.

——At Edenton in the 56th year of his age, THOMAS BENBURY, Esq. Collector of the port of Edenton, a gentlemen not less esteemed for the benevolence of his disposition than for the goodness of his heart.

——Mr. MATTHEW MALLEY, for many years an inhabitant of that town.

*PHEBE BISSELL DEAD* <sup>30</sup>

Died, on Monday night last, Mrs. PHEBE BISSELL, consort of Mr. Thomas Bissell, merchant of this [Edenton] town.

*PENELOPE BENBURY DEAD* <sup>31</sup>

DIED, on Saturday last, greatly regretted, Mrs. PENELOPE BENBURY, consort of Gen. RICHARD BENBURY, of this county. In her death her husband has sustained the loss of a most affectionate wife, and her children that of a kind and tender mother.

*NICHOLAS LONG DEAD* <sup>32</sup>

DIED, the 12th ult. at his seat near Halifax, Col. NICHOLAS LONG—He is justly lamented by a numerous acquaintance as a valuable and worthy member of society.

<sup>28</sup> *The Newbern Gazette*, Feb. 2, 1799.

<sup>29</sup> *Fayetteville Gazette*, March 5, 1793.

<sup>30</sup> *State Gazette of North-Carolina*, Jan. 23, 1799.

<sup>31</sup> *State Gazette of North-Carolina*, May 24, 1798.

<sup>32</sup> *State Gazette of North-Carolina*, March 1, 1798.



*ANNE JONES DEAD* <sup>33</sup>

DIED, On Thursday last, at the house of Capt. S. Butler, Miss ANNE JONES, daughter of the late Thomas Jones, Esq. of this town.

*JAMES ELLIS AND ALEXIUS MEDOR FOSTER DEAD* <sup>34</sup>

NEWBERN, May 17.

DIED.) On Thursday last, JAMES ELLIS, Esq. Clerk and Master in Equity, for the District of Newbern. His remains were interred yesterday, attended by the master, officers and members of S. JOHN'S LODGE, No. 2.

In Brunswick County, Alexius Medor Foster, Esq. High Sheriff of that county.

*BENJAMIN M'CULLOCH DEAD* <sup>35</sup>

On Friday night departed this life, after a short illness, much lamented, BENJAMIN M'CULLOCH, Esq.

'A little onward in the path of life,  
'And all much stretch in death their mortal frame;  
'A few short struggles and the weary strife,  
'And blot the frail memorial of our name:  
'Torn from the Promontory's lofty brow,  
'In time, the rooted Oak itself lies low.'

*SARAH LITTLEJOHN DEAD* <sup>36</sup>

On the 24th ult. departed this life, at Edenton, in the bloom of youth, Miss SARAH LITTLEJOHN, eldest daughter of William Littlejohn, Esq. of that place. Her amiable manners, sweetness of disposition and goodness of heart, had endeared her, in an especial manner, not only to her relatives, but to all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance—who deplore her loss in tears of the most unaffected and sincere sorrow.

*GEORGE LAUMAN DEAD* <sup>37</sup>

DIED.) On the 3d instant, JOHN SWANN, Esq. of Pasquotank. On the 5th, GEORGE LAUMAN, Esq. Deputy-Postmaster at Salisbury.—As he was beloved in life—his death is greatly regretted.

*SAMUEL SPENCER DEAD* <sup>38</sup>

DIED) Lately, at his seat in Anson county, the Hon. SAMUEL SPENCER, Esq. one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of this state.

<sup>33</sup> *State Gazette of North-Carolina*, Aug. 31, 1797.

<sup>34</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, May 17, 1794.

<sup>35</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Nov. 28, 1792.

<sup>36</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Jan. 16, 1793.

<sup>37</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, March 13, 1793.

<sup>38</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, May 1, 1793.



*HERBERT HAYNES, CHARLES GILMOUR AND JUNIUS  
SITGREAVES DEAD* <sup>39</sup>

DIED, On Tuesday the 26th ult. Col. HERBERT HAYNES. And, On Friday evening last, after a short illness, CHARLES GILMOUR, Esq. Postmaster in this town. He had left a sorrowful widow and two young children to bewail his loss.

Also the same evening, Master JUNIUS SITGREAVES, eldest son of the Hon. Judge Sitgreaves.

*JAMES W. BURNEY AND WILLIAM BRANCH DEAD* <sup>40</sup>

Yesterday departed this life, sincerely regretted, Mr. JAMES W. BURNEY, Printer. He had just compleated the term of his apprenticeship to this office—which was always distinguished by the most indefatigable attention and uncommon application. A more deserving object of panegyric seldom occurs—to such however as had the pleasure of his acquaintance it is unnecessary to delineate his good qualities—to others it might appear fulsome. Suffice it to say, that a retrospective view of his past life, promised a rational certainty of more extensive usefulness.—This neighbourhood experiences the loss of a worthy member of society, and the state of a promising citizen.

———Last night, after a short indisposition, WILLIAM BRANCH, Esquire, late Deputy Sheriff of this county.

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<sup>39</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Sept. 4, 1793.

<sup>40</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Oct. 1, 1793.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Cyrus Hall McCormick, *Seed-Time, 1809-1856*. By William T. Hutchinson. (New York and London: The Century Company, 1930. Pp. XIV. 493.)

One hundred years ago Cyrus Hall McCormick invented a reaper in the Valley of Virginia. The centennial of the invention has been celebrated with appropriate ceremony in numerous cities throughout the world. Hundreds of articles and books, dealing with the invention and the inventor, have been timed to appear in 1930-31. The most pretentious of the books is the first volume of what promises to be a definitive biography of McCormick by William T. Hutchinson. The present volume covers the period from 1809 to 1856, which the author calls the seed-time of McCormick's career.

The early chapters of the work deal with the social and economic conditions in the Valley of Virginia during the later part of the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth centuries. Here we read again the oft repeated story of how the Scotch-Irish trickled southward from Pennsylvania into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, bringing with them their Calvinistic faith and opposition to England. They settled down and began to mine iron ore and raise cattle, grain and children. The surplus iron, grain, and cattle, were to be sent during the American Revolution, to the patriot forces along the seaboard, while the children were reared in democratic simplicity and the Presbyterian faith to help swell the hosts of democratic followers of Thomas Jefferson. It was with such a heritage and in such an environment that Cyrus H. McCormick was born. Reared in the country, he aided his father on the farm and in the blacksmith shop. In the latter he experimented with plows and other farm implements which led ultimately to the reaper.

Most of the essential phases of McCormick's life are treated, but the reader gets a distinct feeling that the book is a history of the reaper rather than the biography of its inventor. By far the greater part of the book deals with the efforts and final success in building the reaper, the rival claims of McCormick and Obed Hussey for the honor of the invention, the competition of the rival machines in the field, the fight in the courts over patent infringements, efforts in Congress to secure an extension of the original patent, and the competition of McCormick, Hussey and others for the profits of the trade



both domestic and foreign. There are also chapters on the establishment of the factory at Chicago, methods of production, organization of the business, advertising methods, and sales agencies.

The author tells the story in authoritative form and his book is a valuable one. His style is hampered by the recitation of tedious detail and the repetition of relatively unimportant matters. The heaviness of the work is, however, lightened by such parts as the brief account of the courtship and marriage of the inventor. McCormick stands out from the book as a farsighted, aggressive, and dynamic business man.

Dr. William E. Dodd speaks, in the foreword, of McCormick's political affiliation with such leaders of the Democratic party as Stephen A. Douglas, but the author hardly touches upon this point. It is to be hoped that this phase of McCormick's career will be developed in the volume yet to be published.

Dr. Hutchinson has had access to the vast collection of McCormick papers and files of agricultural journals preserved in the McCormick Historical Association Library in Chicago. This constitutes as Dr. Dodd says "a veritable storehouse of American economic history." The work would have been more readable and not less valuable, in the opinion of the reviewer, if the author had gotten a little farther away from his documents and given more generalization and interpretation. In spite of such defects in the first volume, the concluding one will be awaited with eagerness by the student of American economic history.

F. M. GREEN.

University of North Carolina.

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Jefferson Davis: Political Soldier. By Elisabeth Cutting. (Dodd, Mead and Company. 1930. Pp. xvi, 361. \$5.00.)

Miss Cutting was faced with no easy task in attempting a new biography of Davis. The theme, to be sure, had some drama, some charm, and some historical importance, but all of these elements had been fully assayed by Dodd, Eckenrode, Rowland, Tate, and others. In the face of previous accurate delineations of the Davis portrait, a new biography would seem to be justifiable only if it utilized fresh sources of information which would throw new light upon the canvas



or if the author turned familiar facts into literature or revealed a hidden Davis by new interpretation. Perhaps the greatest compliment that can be paid Miss Cutting is that her book is highly justifiable by either criterion. Her Davis is not only sound history but is really a distinguished piece of writing. If the fresh sources utilized by her (notably the *Archives des Affaires etrangeres* and a liberal use of newspapers) failed to produce much that was actually new, the familiar sources were managed with the hands of both an artist and a scholar. Miss Cutting is unusually successful in giving reality to the ante-bellum Southern scene; one seems to smell the orange blossoms of Louisiana, or to feel the warm glow of the yellow sunlight falling on the worn steps of the Hotel de Ville in New Orleans, or to sense the roses at Briarwood, the jessamines, and the soft, warm breezes off the bayous. While Miss Cutting has the eye of an artist for the picturesque and the colorful, her portrait of Davis is scholarly and compact. Her main conclusions are sound and in accord with previous research. It is a book designed to fill the cultural needs of those who wish authentic history attractively presented. Such a need Miss Cutting's book fills not only with adequacy but with distinction. It belongs to that category of writing which has done much to save American historical literature from a too servile submission to the enthrallment of the footnote and the seminar, those fundamental but sometimes deadening devices upon which all formal history rests.

Davis, as a typical planter of the lower South who had scholarly tastes and a strong penchant for power and politics, is conventionally portrayed by Miss Cutting. The emphasis of her volume is laid upon the foreign relations of the Confederacy, and the thread running through her narrative is that of Davis's doctrinaire foreign policies, dominated by a continued hope that was almost an obsession for foreign recognition. Transportation as a cause of the breakdown of the Confederacy, defeatism, States' rights among states (including North Carolina) that were more interested in preserving this principle and what went with it than in rescuing the Confederacy, Davis's overweening confidence in his own judgments, his overdirection of military affairs, his incompetency in picking leaders, his sensitiveness to criticism—these and other factors are given due proportion by Miss Cutting. Davis as an administrator who knew as little of



the ways of assuming power as he did of delegating duties; as a politician who had unflinching courage but did not know the necessity of compromise and so could not be entitled to the designation of a statesman; as an egoist who had "an immovable faith in his own decisions" and whose vanity admitted no rebuke, though he had many to take; as a civil executive who could not get rid of the illusion that he was a competent military leader, is the Davis whom Miss Cutting so aptly epitomizes as "the leader of a cause, but not of men." Hers is an understanding and sympathetic treatment of a high-minded product of the last formal aristocracy in America, a figure whose courage and heroic refusal to yield in the face of any odds compels respect.

There are some minor defects which it is to be hoped the author will remedy in the future studies that historians have a right to expect from a talented pen. There is not a clear discrimination between primary and secondary sources, and the list of references under the heading of "Books" (p. 342) contains Mss. sources (p. 346). Such outmoded secondary works as those of Rhodes and Wilson are used frequently, but Channing is nowhere mentioned. Too constant parallels between Jefferson Davis and Woodrow Wilson have a mar-ring effect. Despite these minor defects, such college courses in southern history as those conducted by Dr. Boyd at Duke University and Dr. Hamilton at the University of North Carolina will find Miss Cutting's volume a useful addition to southern historical literature.

Wilkes-barré, Pa.

J. P. BOND.

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A History of Colonial America. By Oliver P. Chitwood. (New York; Harper & Brothers. 1931. Pp. xiii, 811. \$3.75.)

"This volume is intended primarily for the college student, though it is hoped that it will also be of interest to the general reader," writes Professor Chitwood in his preface. The hope is not a vain one, for the American public will find here the story of their country to the end of the Revolution told in a way which, while full of information, is nevertheless easy reading. The chief value of the work, however, will lie in its usefulness to advanced undergraduates and to research workers. The undergraduate will find a clear, well organized narrative, with an adequate number of suitable maps, and with lists of references for further reading at the end of each chapter. The



specialist will be particularly grateful for the convenient summing up of the latest writing on many controverted points, for the numerous footnote references to both primary and secondary materials, for the unusually fine critical bibliography of no less than eighty-three pages, and for the detailed index. Professor Chitwood has succeeded in producing a volume which is at the same time both scholarly and interesting.

The work is divided into three parts. The first, consisting of 405 pages, is entitled "The Origin and Development of the Colonies." It gives an account of the European background of American history; the discovery and exploration of the New World; the planting of the Spanish, French, and British settlements; the political development of the British colonies to 1763; and the struggle between France and Great Britain for world empire, culminating in the decisive victory of the latter in 1763. Of particular value in this part of the book is the treatment of religious conditions in Europe which helped make possible the settlement of America (although too much stress seems to be laid on the influence of the Calvinists), of the discovery of America by the Norsemen, of the spirit of the New England theocracy which expressed itself both by worshiping God and by burning witches, of the much maligned Andros and his administration of the Dominion of New England, of the emigration to America of the thrifty Germans and the self-reliant Scotch-Irish, and of the peopling in the eighteenth century of the Old West, that region between the coastal settlements and the mountains. It seems, however, that too much space and attention are devoted to the first few years of the history of each colony, while those less spectacular but nevertheless vital political developments taking place between 1700 and 1763 are largely neglected.

The second part, entitled "Economic and Social Life" and 193 pages in length, offers the greatest innovation and forms the most valuable part of the book. Here the writer discusses population, labor, agriculture, land tenure, industry, transportation, trade, religious conditions, intellectual life, manners, and customs. Much of the material presented in this part of the book cannot usually be found in a work of this nature, and yet rightfully belongs there. Valuable comments are made on many phases of the life of the colonists,



the subject of slavery being unusually well handled. Inappropriately included here is a chapter on "Imperial Supervision of the Colonies," which more logically would have come in Part One.

Part Three, "Separation from the Empire," covers the eventful years from the Treaty of Paris, 1763, to the end of the Revolution. Containing only about 100 pages, this section seems disproportionately brief when compared with many of the lengthy and detailed discussions which have preceded. There is a chapter on the occupation of the trans-Alleghany region, showing how the problems here involved helped cause the final break between mother country and colonists. Then follows an orthodox treatment of the events leading up to the outbreak of hostilities, of military campaigns during the Revolutionary War, and of the negotiation of the Treaty of Paris, 1783. The last chapter of the book, "Political and Social Aspects of the Revolution," contains much that is not to be found in the average text.

The value of the work is lessened by an unusually large number of minor errors, of which only a few can be mentioned here. It is stated (p. 92) that the Navigation Act of 1660 was "especially unjust to Virginia, for in her case there were no compensating advantages to offset the burdens as there were in the case of New England"; but later (p. 507) it is said that colonial tobacco was given a monopoly of the British market—which certainly was a "compensating advantage" to Virginia. In colonial times North Carolina was not entirely cut off from ocean-going commerce (pp. 242, 329), but rather her ports enjoyed a sizable trade. Technically the king in council did not veto acts of the colonial legislatures (pp. 414, 420, 499), but disallowed them. North Carolina, and not South Carolina, "produced more pitch and tar than all the other colonies combined" (p. 460). Pontiac's uprising began in 1763 rather than in 1764 (p. 608).

A more fundamental criticism is that the author, who lacks familiarity with the colonial policies and administrative agencies of the mother country, devotes too little attention to the British side of the story. It seems necessary to repeat endlessly the truism that the colonies did not constitute a world in themselves, but rather formed a part of that much greater entity, the British Empire; and that, in



order to understand the colonies, it is essential for the student to have a thorough knowledge of the workings of the government of that empire. While the writer does not totally neglect the subject, his chapter on "Imperial Supervision of the Colonies" is quite inadequate. Such unfavorable criticism may be made, however, of many of the textbooks on American colonial history. On the whole Professor Chitwood has done a valuable piece of work, and in all probability his book will adorn the desks of college students for many years to come.

C. C. CRITTENDEN.

University of North Carolina.

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Europe and the American Civil War. By Donaldson Jordan and Edwin J. Pratt. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. Pp. xiii, 300. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

This is a résumé of two theses which Messrs. Jordan and Pratt wrote under the direction of Professor S. E. Morison. The first section of the book, the work of Mr. Jordan, is a fair summary of British opinion as it has been generally accepted. No new discoveries or interpretations are made; but the dicta of C. F. Adams, Henry Adams, E. D. Adams and James F. Rhodes are accepted. That is, public opinion in England as expressed in newspapers turned more and more against the United States and in favor of intervention to obtain cotton until Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation set the Anti-Slavery Societies and Radicals in motion and assured the Non-Conformist and laboring classes, who had always been friends of an undivided America as a model of liberty, that the North was fighting for freedom and the South for slavery. The need for American wheat is considered an important aid to the Radicals and Anti-Slavery Societies in preventing intervention.

Mr. Pratt's résumé of continental opinion is exceedingly thin. He devotes a few paragraphs to Russia, Prussia, Austria, Italy, Belgium, etc., a few pages to Spain and only about forty pages to the diplomacy of Napoleon and French opinion together. In dealing with Napoleonic diplomacy Mr. Pratt did not go into the French Foreign Office. His résumé of French public opinion does not compare in thoroughness with W. R. West's Contemporary French Opinion of the Civil War. He finds Napoleon always ready to intervene



in company with England, because of his Mexican interests and the cotton famine and he always finds the bulk of French opinion which favors an undivided America, opposed to intervention.

Both authors join in a conclusion which is a reaffirmation of the conclusions of former historians. Intervention, they believe, was always imminent during the first two years of the war. It was, in the opinion of these two writers, the opposition of the Emancipation Societies, Non-Conformists and organized labor combined with the need of American wheat which prevented the fatal step which would have ended in the independence of the South.

It is not the place of the reviewer to push his own views forward in evaluating the work of another; but it is difficult to refrain from commenting upon the stereotyped conclusions concerning slavery and the danger of intervention which this book contains. It is the opinion of the reviewer—based upon a careful study of British opinion and British diplomacy—that there was never the slightest danger of British intervention. Stupendous war profits, even in the Lancashire cotton industry removed all economic motives for intervention.

Too much stock is taken in the anti-slavery sentiment of the laboring and middle classes. As a matter of fact James Spence, Beresford-Hope, Seymour Fitzgerald, Lord Clanricarde—all the English-Confederate propagandists—were unalterably opposed to slavery; and in all their agitations in favor of recognizing the Confederacy they promised the freedom of the slave. That is the English public were given to understand that regardless of how the war might terminate, slavery would be ended. Englishmen might therefore sympathize with the Confederacy or with the North without violating their anti-slavery principles.

Vanderbilt University.

FRANK L. OWSLEY.

*Westward.* By E. Douglas Branch. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1930. Pp. viii, 627. \$5.00.)

*America Moves West.* By Robert E. Riegel. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1930. Pp. 595. \$3.00.)

*The Growth of the American Republic.* By Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. 956. \$6.00.)

*The Story of America.* By Smith Burnham. (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co. 1931. Pp. viii, 616. \$3.00.)



- When the West Is Gone.* By Frederic L. Paxson. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1931. Pp. 137. \$2.00.)
- The American Indian Frontier.* By William Christie Macleod. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1928. Pp. xi, 598. \$6.50.)
- The Rediscovery of the Frontier.* By Percy H. Boynton. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. vii, 185. \$2.50.)
- The Story of the Red Man.* By Flora Warren Seymour. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1929. Pp. 421. \$5.00.)
- Indians and Pioneers.* By Grant Foreman. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. xiv, 348. \$4.00.)
- The Discovery, Purchase, and Settlement of the Country of Kentuckie in North America, etc.* By Alexander Fitzroy. With preface, and introduction. The Kentuckie Country, by Willard Rouse Jillson. (Washington, D. C.: H. L. and J. B. McQueen, Inc. 1931. Pp. 63. \$3.25.)
- Tales of the Dark and Bloody Ground* By Willard Rouse Jillson. (Louisville: C. T. Dearing Printing Co. 1930. Pp. 149. \$4.00.)
- The Limestone Tree.* By Joseph Hergesheimer. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. Pp. 386. \$2.50.)
- The Santa Fe Trail.* By R. L. Duffus. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1930. Pp. 283. \$5.00.)
- The Oregon Trail and Some of Its Blazers.* By Maude A. Rucker. (New York: Walter Neale. 1930. Pp. 293. \$2.50.)
- Frontier Trails.* The Autobiography of Frank M. Canton. Edited by Edward Everett Dale. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1930. Pp. 237. \$3.00.)
- Giants of the Old West.* By Frederick R. Bechdolt. (New York: The Century Co. 1930. Pp. 245. \$2.00.)
- Overland With the Kit Carson.* By George Douglas Brewerton. Edited by Stallo Vinton. (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. 1930. Pp. 301. \$4.00.)
- John Marsh, Pioneer.* By George D. Lyman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. Pp. xii, 394. \$3.50.)
- Lords of the Valley.* Sir William Johnson and His Mohawk Brothers. By Flora Warren Seymour. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1930. Pp. 278. \$3.00.)
- Johnson of the Mohawks.* By Arthur Pound in collaboration with Richard E. Day. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1930. Pp. lx, 556. \$5.00.)
- The Religious Background of American Culture.* By Thomas Cuming Hall. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1930. Pp. xli, 348. \$3.00.)
- Religion on the American Frontier.* By William Warren Sweet. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1931. Pp. vii, 652. \$5.00.)

It has been long in coming. But the frontier is here at last—and to stay. The starting point is correctly found in Frederick J. Turner's *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Wisconsin Historical Society Proceeding, 1894). This was a significant, fructifying work of constructive historical technic, expounding a thesis and exemplifying methods of approach to the problem of investigation. Works of significance, of importance independently



and as illustrating the rich, largely unexploited field of the frontier, especially in the Middle West, the South West and Far West, may be mentioned as representative: the late C. W. Alvord's *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, F. L. Paxson's *History of the American Frontier*, and the writer's *The Conquest of the Old Southwest*. Books are now tumbling from American presses in great abundance and variety, dealing with the great trails and treks, pioneers and pioneering, Indians, hunters and trappers, explorers and Indian agents, the social, political and religious conditions along the frontier, and the basic conditions, geographical and territorial, which promoted or retarded the general transcontinental westward advance.

Two useful books, written from quite different points of view, are Branch's *Westward* and Riegel's *America Moves West*. The former is written vividly and entertainingly, and is an excellent illustration of integrated knowledge interestingly imparted. The latter is a more thoughtful and scholarly piece of work, a text rather than a narrative; and while less attractive to the general reader, should prove useful as a class text.

The Morison-Commager *Growth of the American Republic* is, in my judgment, the best one-volume text-book on American history in print. It is scholarly in treatment, literary in tone, broadminded in intent if not complete in execution. The North, East, Middle West, and West are handsomely served by the authors, authorities in their fields. The South and Southwest come off less well: the authors clearly do not know the field, and the work reveals rather trivial deposits of ancient prejudices and baseless traditions. A readable narrative "for young and old" and a workable text-book with an illustration on almost every one of the 616 pages, is Burnham's *The Story of America*.

America is at the parting of the ways. The frontier, for good or ill, has done its work. If it has made us democratic—has it?—it has also made us—has it not?—lawless, intolerant of legislation which puts any sort of restriction on our liberty. The frontier is gone: adventurous America, in the pioneering sense, is no more. Paxson, in *When the West Is Gone*, summarizes clearly and vigorously the contributions of the West and the frontier to American thinking and American ideals; and reveals the American people



facing at last, as a nation, the perplexing problems of internationalism. The American pattern is not yet constructed; we are in a plastic state, ready to be moulded by great world-forces which puzzle and perturb us.

An important work of reference, genuinely useful for its intelligent classification of problems for study and research, is Macleod's *The American Indian Frontier*, one of the volumes in the "History of Civilization" series edited by C. K. Ogden. The thirty-five page bibliography is highly valuable, and cannot be duplicated elsewhere; but the topical index is wholly inadequate. As indicative of one aspect of the influence, we have Boynton's volume of literary essays, *The Rediscovery of the Frontier*, tracing in pleasing style some of the important literary deposits of frontier influence. Boynton points out that, although we have lost the frontier, as the price which the expansion of civilization extorts, we should not and must not, if we are wise, give up that spirit of youth, embodied in the passion for exploration and adventure, which pushed the frontier line westward. A work of a popular nature but reliably based, is the very readable *Story of the Red Man*—a not unhappy mixture of history and biography. It is too broadly treated, skimming over the surface of a vast subject, to "rate" as a text-book; and the bibliographical notes are merely sketchy and suggestive, giving a few peeps only into the great wealth of written and documentary history and materials for history extant.

A number of recent books deal with specialized and local phases of the frontier problem. A genuinely important contribution to the history of the Southwest is Foreman's *Indians and Pioneers*, a well-written story of the American Southwest before 1830. Particularly interesting to North Carolinians should be discussions of the Cherokee and Creek Indians, with the association of the names of Andrew Jackson and Benjamin Hawkins. It is also to be remembered that the same author's *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* contained a full account of the later years of former Governor Montfort Stokes of North Carolina. That prolific writer in both science and history, Dr. Willard Rouse Jillson, state geologist of Kentucky, has recently brought out two interesting works: one a reprint in facsimile of Alexander Fitzroy's rare work on Kentucky, largely "lifted" from



Filson, of which (the former) only two copies are known, both now owned in America; the other a collection of readable essays, *Tales of the Dark and Bloody Ground*, on both familiar and unfamiliar subjects, some embodying considerable research. Much of the information is obtained from the rich storehouse which now supplies, at little cost and slight research, many writers on Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky history, the Draper Collection at Madison, Wisconsin. A pleasing novel is Hergesheimer's *The Limestone Tree*, well-written but rather choppy—rather thrown together than integrated—dealing with the pioneer period in the old Southwest and the movement of population into Kentucky, and the aftermath.

The development of the frontier is inevitably associated with certain well-marked and famous trails. Welcome then are new works tracing the important influence of such highways: Duffus' vigorously written *Santa Fe Trail*, the instructive and authoritative *Oregon Trail*, by Maude A. Rucker, descendant of the famous Lindsay Applegate, and Canton's "live" autobiography, *Frontier Trails*, dealing chiefly with exciting times in Oklahoma and the Klondike. A successful writer in this field, Frederick R. Bechdolt, adds a new and interesting volume, dealing with ten conspicuous figures in the history of the West and Southwest, *Giants of the Old West*. Valuable and authentic incidents connected with the life of Kit Carson, of North Carolina origin, although not born in this State, is Brewerton's narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in 1848: *Overland with Kit Carson*. A fascinating story of a far-ranging pioneer, a graduate of Harvard, who was a trail-blazer on six frontiers is Lyman's *John Marsh, Pioneer*. Vivid in interest, rich in color, although neither comprehensive nor authoritative, are two recent works dealing with the superintendent for Indian affairs in the North prior to the Revolution: Mrs. Seymour's *Lords of the Valley* and Pound's *Johnson of the Mohawks*. A satisfactory and complete biography of this remarkable and crafty character, Sir William Johnson, would easily run to three or four volumes.

In conclusion, it is significant that at least the frontier is beginning to be studied in its religious aspects. The frontiersman is always thought of and written about as a sort of cave-man, little if any better than an Indian, primitive in ferocity, coarse, irreligious,



uncouth, yet infinitely brave and crafty. The effect of the frontier upon religion, and, conversely, the influence of religion upon pioneer civilization are touched upon in Hall's *The Religious Background of American Culture*. A genuine, close-knit study of the problem, in the light of the experience of one denomination, the Baptists, is Sweet's *Religion on the American Frontier*, a collection of basic documents, ably edited by Shirley Jackson Case. It is to be hoped that this work will be followed by similar works, dealing with other religions on the American frontier.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

University of North Carolina.



## BOOKS RECEIVED

*The Story of the Confederacy.* By Robert Selph Henry. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1931. Pp. 514. \$5.00.)

*Southern Editorials on Secession.* Compiled by Dwight Lowell Dumond. (New York: The Century Company. 1931. Pp. xxxiii, 529. \$4.00.)

*A Social History of the Sea Islands. With Special Reference to St. Helena Island, South Carolina.* By Guion Griffis Johnson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1930. Pp. 245. \$3.00.)

*A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony.* By Frank G. Speck. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1931. Pp. 192.)

*Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Cherokee Indians.* By John R. Swanton. [Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 103.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1931. Pp. 282. 60 cents.)

*Virginia Wills and Administrations, 1632-1800.* Compiled by Clayton Torrence. (Richmond: The William Byrd Press. 1931. Pp. x, 483. \$10.00.)



## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, *The North Carolina Booklet*, and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Any one possessing duplicates is requested to send them to A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at the regular price of \$2.00 per volume or 50 cents per number.

The Mrs. Simon Baruch University Prize of \$1,000, offered biennially by the United Daughters of the Confederacy for the best unpublished monograph in the field of Southern history, has been awarded to Ralph B. Flanders, Ph.D., Duke University, now instructor in New York University, for his monograph, "Plantation Slavery in the State of Georgia."

The John H. Dunning prize, awarded biennially by the American Historical Association for an essay on a subject in the field of American history, was presented jointly to Dr. R. H. Woody, graduate and instructor in history at Duke University, and Dr. Francis B. Simkins, professor of history at State Teachers' College, Farmville, Va., for their coöperative study of "South Carolina during Reconstruction," soon to be published by the University of North Carolina Press.

"Anson's Revolutionary Triumvirate" is the title of an article by Mary Virginia Horne concerning Patrick Boggan, Thomas Wade and Samuel Spencer, published in the *Greensboro Daily News*, January 10.

"Milton Once was Thriving Commercial Center," by Gerard Tetley, was published in the *Greensboro Daily News*, February 28.



The Roanoke Island Historical Association, incorporated under the laws of North Carolina on January 8th for the purpose of celebrating the three hundred fiftieth anniversary of the attempts on Roanoke Island in 1584-87 of Sir Walter Raleigh to plant the first English colony in the New World, has launched plans for the celebration to be held on Roanoke Island in 1934. The Board of Trustees of the Association at present consists of W. O. Saunders, Elizabeth City; Bishop Thomas C. Darst, Wilmington; Dr. Frank P. Graham, Chapel Hill; Dudley Bagley, Moyock; Dr. A. R. Newsome, Raleigh; Henry L. Stevens, Jr., Warsaw; Josephus Daniels, Raleigh; H. R. Dwire, Durham; Dean H. Dobson Peacock, Norfolk; D. B. Fearing, Manteo; W. D. Pruden, Edenton; A. B. Andrews, Raleigh; A. D. McLean, Washington; and Charles Whedbee, Hertford.

At a meeting of the Board at the Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, February 8th, by-laws of the Association were adopted and a permanent organization was set up consisting of W. O. Saunders, president of the Association and chairman of the Board of Trustees; Bishop Thomas C. Darst, Dr. Frank P. Graham and Josephus Daniels, vice-presidents; Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary; Frank Page, treasurer; and Dr. R. B. Drane, historian.

A concurrent resolution was introduced in Congress on March 1 by Hon. Lindsay C. Warren looking toward the approval and cooperation of the United States government in the celebration, which should be of historic interest to the English-speaking world.

Membership in the Association is available under the following classifications: member, \$1 per year; sustaining member, \$10; contributing member, \$25; and patron, \$100.

Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, was appointed in December by the Council of the American Historical Association to the chairmanship of the Public Archives Commission for 1932. Other members of the Commission are Prof. E. E. Dale of the University of Oklahoma, V. S. Paltsits of the New York Public Library, Miss Margaret Norton of the Archives Division of the Illinois State Library, and Mr. Julian P. Boyd of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. The Commission will prepare a pamphlet on the preservation of county



and other local records, with information as to good models of legislation on the subject, to be sent to county clerks, historical societies and historical commissions throughout the United States.

With the January issue, the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, published by the Duke University Press, entered its thirty-first year of publication. Established in 1902 under the leadership and editorship of John Spencer Bassett, the *Quarterly* has forwarded the interests of literature and scholarship by providing a medium for the publication of the work of writers and investigators of the South. The editors during the thirty years have included Dr. John Spencer Bassett, Dr. Edwin Mims, Dr. W. P. Few, Dr. W. H. Glasson, Dr. W. K. Boyd, and Dr. W. H. Wannamaker. At present the publication is under the direction of an editorial board consisting of Dr. W. H. Wannamaker, Dr. W. T. Laprade, Dr. N. I. White, and Dr. Calvin B. Hoover, with Henry R. Dwire as Managing Editor.

The Daughters of the American Revolution of North Carolina held their thirty-second annual State Conference, by invitation of the General Davie chapter, in Durham, March 8-10. Mrs. Sydney Perry Cooper of Henderson is state regent.

Judge Thomas M. Pittman, a member of the North Carolina Historical Commission since 1911 and chairman since 1923, died at his home in Henderson on February 8th, at the age of 74. Judge Pittman was dean of the Henderson bar and a former judge of the superior court. A life-long student of North Carolina history, he gratified his interest by faithful and effective work for the Historical Commission, by collecting a large and valuable library of North Caroliniana, and by producing many published addresses, newspaper and magazine articles, and monographs. His official connection with the Historical Commission throughout most of its existence bore abundant fruit in the expansion of its program of collecting and publishing manuscripts and in the establishment in 1924 of the *North Carolina Historical Review*.

Professor R. D. W. Connor, Kenan professor and head of the department of history at the University of North Carolina, was



appointed by Governor O. Max Gardner on February 15th to fill the vacancy on the North Carolina Historical Commission created by the death of Judge Thomas M. Pittman on February 8th. Professor Connor has had a notable career of activity and production in the field of North Carolina history. He was secretary of the Historical Commission, 1903-21, and president of the State Literary and Historical Association, 1912, and secretary, 1913-20. He has been Kenan professor of history at the University since 1921, and a member of the editorial board of the *North Carolina Historical Review* since 1925. He is the author of *Cornelius Harnett* (1909), which won the Patterson Memorial Cup; (with Clarence Poe) *Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock* (1912); *History of North Carolina, Colonial and Revolutionary Periods* (1919); *North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (1929), 2 volumes; and numerous historical articles and addresses.

The third unit of the North Carolina Radio School, under the supervision of Miss Hattie Parrott, state supervisor of elementary education, was conducted from February 1 to April 7 through station WPTF, Raleigh, from 11:30 to 12:00 o'clock on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays by a staff of instructors in various educational subjects. Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, delivered a series of five lectures on Washington, Jefferson and Hamilton.

North Carolina has participated extensively in the nation-wide celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington. Schools, libraries, churches, clubs and other organizations have had programs, addresses, exhibits, pageants, tree plantings and other forms of celebration. Local speakers and leaders have co-operated with the plans of the national and state commissions. Judge Francis D. Winston of Windsor is chairman of the North Carolina commission. A unique service was held in Winston-Salem at the Home Moravian Church on February 21. It consisted of the reproduction of the program of hymns and music used by the Moravians at the exercises held on the Day of Remembrance, February 22, 1800, following the death of Washington. Miss Adelaide L. Fries, who discovered and translated the old program, is the author of



"Salem First Honored Memory of George Washington in 1800," published in the *Winston-Salem Journal*, February 21. Miss Fries was the principal speaker on February 21 at the unveiling of a tablet at Kernersville on the site of Dobson's tavern where Washington breakfasted on June 2, 1791, while on his southern tour. Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill delivered an address on Washington at Christ Church, Raleigh, February 21. Dr. A. R. Newsome delivered Washington addresses before various clubs and organizations; at Catawba College, Salisbury, on February 22; and at Meredith College on February 23. Addresses have been delivered in communities throughout the State.

The following articles in periodicals are noteworthy: J. P. Boyd, *Connecticut's Experiment in Expansion: the Susquehannah Company, 1753-1803* (*Journal of Economic and Business History*, November); Thomas G. Frothingham, *The Sequence that led to Yorktown* (*U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, October); A. H. Miles, *Naval Views of the Yorktown Campaign* (*ibid.*); Kathleen Bruce, *Virginian Agricultural Decline to 1860: A Fallacy* (*Agricultural History*, January); Sam'l C. Williams, *Hazard's Proposed Colony in the Tennessee Country* (*Tennessee Historical Magazine*, October); Mrs. Rosalie B. Brown, *Andrew Jackson and the Greasy Cove Race Track* (*ibid.*); J. G. deR. Hamilton, *Lamar of Mississippi* (*The Virginia Quarterly Review*, January); Archibald Rutledge, *The Negro in the North* (*The South Atlantic Quarterly*, January); Bertha-Monica Stearns, *Southern Magazines for Ladies (1819-1860)* (*ibid.*); Charles E. Landon, *Recent Developments in the Tobacco Manufacturing Industry* (*ibid.*); James W. Patton, *The Progress of Emancipation in Tennessee, 1796-1860* (*The Journal of Negro History*, January); Roy M. Robbins, *Preemption—A Frontier Triumph* (*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December).

The chief accessions to the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission during the three months period ending with February were: The Hardy Massey Papers, 1794-1897; 998 Orange County wills, 1796-1867; 18 pamphlets—Minutes of the West Chowan Baptist Association, 1883-1909; 15 pamphlets—Minutes of the Chowan Baptist Association, 1850-81; 7 pamphlets—Minutes



of the Baptist State Convention, 1863-85; 64 pamphlets—Minutes of the Kehukee Primitive Baptist Association, 1858-1930; 6 account books, 1799-1839; Rowan County records—wills, marriage bonds and tax lists; 397 Burke County records; 155 Wilkes County records; original contract of Michael Schenck, Absalom Warlick and Michael Beam for the erection of a spinning machine in Lincoln County, April 27, 1816; Futch letters, 1861-63; F. M. Parker letters, 1861-63; Thomas M. Gorman Papers, 1864-1905; manuscript Memoirs of Oscar W. Blacknall; Daniel Harvey Hill Papers, 1890-1924, 1070 letters; Mrs. L. O'B. Branch Papers, 1791-1871, 111 letters; Cherokee Chapter U. D. C. Papers, 1853-98, 94 letters; General Daniel H. Hill Papers, 1848-76, 8 letters; and numerous small collections of personal papers.

The North Carolina Historical Commission urges all citizens of the State who have in their possession old historical records such as letters, diaries, account books, newspapers, pamphlets or any sort of manuscript material, to turn it over to the Commission as a loan or gift for preservation and use by historians. Such material, often considered worthless by the owners and sometimes burned or thoughtlessly given away to private collectors, is in truth of great historical importance to the State—without it, the history of the State cannot be written completely. The careless destruction of such source material in the past has been a great loss to family, local and state history. If North Carolina history has been slighted by historians, it is due in no small part to the failure of North Carolinians to save their records and make them available and inviting to students. The Historical Commission, which is the only official state agency for the collection of source material, has a vast manuscript collection of several thousand volumes and more than a million documents, which are constantly being studied by nearly 2,000 students each year; but there is still much material in private hands in attics, cellars, trunks, old desks, etc., which must eventually be lost unless permanent provision is made for its safety. The Historical Commission has fire-proof quarters, an expert repair department to restore mutilated documents, the most up-to-date system of filing and cataloguing, and a national reputation which attracts students from all over the country. A collection placed in its custody is filed and



catalogued as a separate unit with a name satisfactory to the donor or lender, and guaranteed preservation and use. All friends of North Carolina history, who have manuscript material or friends who have it, are urged to communicate with the secretary of the Historical Commission at Raleigh.

"The Sino-Japanese Crisis" was the subject of addresses by Dr. A. R. Newsome to the International Relations Clubs of Meredith and State colleges on February 2nd and of the University of North Carolina on February 18th.



## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## NORTH CAROLINA CERTIFICATES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR PERIOD

BY ADELAIDE L. FRIES

Among the problems which faced the leaders in the American war for independence none was greater than the question of money. Munitions of war must be purchased, provisions must be secured, troops must be paid, and all these things by states which were as yet only tentatively organized and united, and without credit. During the earlier years of the war vast quantities of paper money were issued, but as there was nothing back of the paper except the good intention of a government that might at any moment cease to exist through the triumph of Great Britain this currency depreciated with increasing velocity, despite laws designed to hold it steady and enforce its use among the people. Of American "hard money" there was none; coins of England, Spain, Portugal and France circulated in varying quantities. The Spanish milled dollar practically became the standard of value although amounts were usually stated in pounds, and this is typical of the monetary confusion existing.

By 1780 the situation in North Carolina was desperate. To the lack of value of the paper currency was added the increasing demand for supplies for the continental army and for the militia, and there was nothing with which to meet the urgent need. The resort to certificates was natural, though it was merely postponing pay-day, and was laying up trouble for the future. These certificates were of various types and names, but all alike pledged payment by the government at some later date. The *Colonial* and *State Records of North Carolina* contain many laws concerning certificates and many references to them in the Journals of the Assembly, but they are inadequately indexed and are difficult to collate. The diaries and minute books of the Moravian Church of Salem (now Winston-



Salem), North Carolina, throw a good deal of light on the subject through their mention of the actual handling of certificates received. The following brief article gives the result of a careful study of both sources of information.

The certificate movement began with the giving of "tickets" by commissaries and other officers for provisions furnished to their men. The tickets were merely written and signed receipts<sup>1</sup> for supplies received from citizens in the neighborhood where the troops happened to be. In March, 1780, for example, the commissary, Mr. Henderson, demanded six beef oxen from the Moravian settlements in Wachovia.<sup>2</sup> The animals were appraised by two men brought by Mr. Henderson for the purpose,<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Henderson paid for them partly in currency and partly in "notes on the Assembly."<sup>4</sup> These notes, or tickets, were paid in paper money in October of the same year.<sup>5</sup> This transaction was relatively simple, though it entailed considerable loss on the Moravians because of the rapid fall in value of the currency, but when provisions furnished were for the continental line the matter of collection was more complicated. General Gates ordered leather from Salem, which was delivered to him at Hillsborough, North Carolina,<sup>6</sup> but when payment was asked he gave a draft "on the Treasurer in Maryland or on the Governor."<sup>7</sup> Rather than dispatch a special messenger to Maryland, the Moravians held the draft for three months until an opportunity offered of sending it thither by a passing officer who was willing to collect it for them.<sup>8</sup>

The rapidly increasing number of outstanding tickets, and the great danger of fraud, led the North Carolina Assembly of April, 1780, to elect a Standing Board of Auditors, consisting of three men, who were to adjust accounts for and against the State.<sup>9</sup> It soon became apparent that one central board could not handle the business, and the Assembly that met in January, 1781, appointed District Boards of Auditors, consisting of three men in each of the smaller districts and two sets of three in each of the larger districts.<sup>10</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Specimens in the Museum of the Wachovia Historical Society of Winston-Salem, N. C.

<sup>2</sup> Salem, N. C., diary, March 10, 1780.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, March 16, 1780.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, March 17, 1780.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, October 21, 1780.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1780.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1780.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, March 15, 1781.

<sup>9</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 325.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 373.



act appointing District Auditors set the price of commodities usually demanded by the commissaries, and required the District Auditors, by their secretaries, to transmit to the Standing Board of Auditors "the counter part of the Certificates by them issued," together with the vouchers. In May, 1781, the financial board of Salem, North Carolina, tabulated the tickets which had accumulated there, giving the names of the individual owners, and sent them to the District Auditors at Salisbury,<sup>11</sup> who computed their value in continental currency at the ratio of two hundred and fifty in continental currency to one in specie, and issued certificates for the amount due.<sup>12</sup> These Auditors' certificates were accepted for taxes in the following June.

Authority for the issuing of certificates appears in the Journal of the Assembly, February 14, 1781,<sup>13</sup> when the House of Commons received from the Senate the following message:

The Resolve of your House for the relief of persons which have furnished the Armies of this State with provisions to a greater amount than their Specific Tax we return you herewith, concurred with.

Resolved, that the Standing Board of Auditors be and they are hereby empowered to issue Certificates for such sums as may appear due on the settlement of such accounts; they may adjust in the same manner as for claims allowed.

The Specific Tax referred to had been ordered by the Assembly which met in September, 1780.<sup>14</sup> The act was an attempt to procure necessary food for the troops, and required that the "pecuniary tax" on each £100 value of taxable property must be accompanied by one peck of Indian corn, or one-half peck of wheat, or other provisions in a definitely stated ratio. The commissioner of each county was authorized to buy additional grain and provisions for the army, and to give certificates in which the value was stated in Spanish milled dollars, the certificates to bear interest at 6% and to be payable in Spanish milled dollars or their equivalent in continental or state currency on September 1, 1782. In the Moravian records no distinction is made between these commissioners' certificates and the

<sup>11</sup> Aufseher Collegium minutes, Salem, N. C., May 22, 1781.

<sup>12</sup> Salem, N. C., diary, May 31, 1781; Aufseher Collegium, June 6, 1781.

<sup>13</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XVII, 792.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 344.



tickets received from other sources, and it is apparent that after the organization of the District Boards of Auditors the commissioners' tickets were sent to the auditors along with the others. The auditors' certificates, or "currency certificates," were at first legal tender for all taxes, and the demands made upon the Moravians were so heavy that when the taxes for 1780 were collected in June, 1781,<sup>15</sup> their certificates covered not only the Specific Tax but also the Pecuniary Tax, even though under acts of Assembly some of the Moravians paid both three-fold in lieu of military service.<sup>16</sup>

The Assembly which met in June, 1781,<sup>17</sup> continued the District Boards of Auditors, because "pay due for Militia duty and all other claims against the State for articles furnished or impressed should be speedily settled and certificates granted for the same." The certificates issued under this act were to be legal tender for public taxes at the rate of two hundred in currency for one in specie, and all sums amounting to not less than one pound in specie were to bear interest from date if not paid before May 1, 1783. Pay to the militia was "to be considered in specie."

The defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown in the fall in 1781 terminated active warfare between America and England, but the uncertainty of peace hung over the heads of the Americans for more than a year longer. It was hardly safe to disband the army, but the number of troops under arms steadily dwindled. Militia returned to their homes as their terms of enlistment expired, malcontents broke away from their officers,<sup>18</sup> and soldiers of the continental line were released on furlough as the prospect of peace brightened. But how the troops were to be paid was the problem, and added to this was the "enormous quantity of Public Certificates which called for immediate satisfaction,"<sup>19</sup> and the need for adjusting accounts between the United States and the individual states. The North Carolina Assembly of April, 1782, took up all these questions, and passed various acts bearing on the different phases of the situation. The Moravian minute books show how some of the acts were interpreted.

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<sup>15</sup> Salem, N. C., diary, July 21, 1781.

<sup>16</sup> *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, III, page 1291; *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 344, 435.

<sup>17</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 387.

<sup>18</sup> Salem, N. C., diary, May 22, 23, 1783; Aufseher Collegium, May 22, 1783.

<sup>19</sup> Letter, Governor Martin to Hon. Robert Morris, July 3, 1782, *State Records of North Carolina*, XVI, 350.



Already in the spring of 1778 a bill had been introduced in the North Carolina Assembly looking toward the appointment of a committee to liquidate and adjust the accounts of North Carolina against the United States, but this was rejected by the House of Commons on its second reading.<sup>20</sup> In June, 1781, an act was passed providing that one quarter of the money tax should be collected in continental currency, to be used for requisitions of Congress on the state of North Carolina.<sup>21</sup> The Moravians did not have enough continental currency on hand, and were allowed to use certificates in paying the tax for that year,<sup>22</sup> and the Assembly of April, 1782, made this legal for anyone who preferred it, enacting that the tax in continental currency might be paid in state currency or in certificates upon the public, if desired. Tax collectors were ordered to pay into the hands of the sheriffs or county treasurers all specie certificates they might have on hand or might thereafter receive in the payment of taxes, at the same rate at which they received them.<sup>23</sup> Three commissioners were appointed<sup>24</sup> to liquidate the claims of North Carolinians in the continental army. They were instructed to issue specie certificates, part to be negotiable in one year "in prompt payment for any public property that may immediately be sold," and the balance to be paid by the State Treasurer "as soon as the situation of the finances will permit."

The April, 1782, Assembly also continued the Boards of District Auditors, instructing them to "liquidate in specie" all claims which they found valid,<sup>25</sup> which meant of course that they issued specie certificates, for the specie actually in circulation was negligible. Moravian records show that acts of this Assembly were construed by the tax gatherers to mean that certificates for supplies issued prior to that date were to be received only for the Specific Tax,<sup>26</sup> and that the new specie certificates might be used only for the purchase of confiscated land or Negroes.<sup>27</sup> This did not accord with the terms of the act regarding the pecuniary tax, and the act continuing District Boards of Auditors did not restrict the use of the new specie

<sup>20</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XII, 619, 740, 741.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 390.

<sup>22</sup> Salem Helfer Conferenz minutes, April 4, 1782.

<sup>23</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 435.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 420.

<sup>25</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 422.

<sup>26</sup> Salem Aeltesten Conferenz minutes, June 10, 1782; Congregation Council minutes, Nov. 21, 1782.

<sup>27</sup> Aeltesten Conferenz, Nov. 27, 1782.



certificates. The ruling was apparently based on the act <sup>28</sup> for the sale of confiscated property, "land, Negroes and other estates real and personal." Under this act confiscated land was to be sold at public vendue for specie, the purchaser giving bond for payment. Any purchaser willing to pay down two-thirds of the price might use for it currency certificates issued by the General Assembly or any Board of Auditors before June, 1781, at \$150.00 in currency for \$1.00 in specie, or currency certificates issued after June, 1781, at \$800.00 in currency for \$1.00 in specie. Negroes, horses, etc., were to be sold at public vendue at the courthouses in the various districts, and three quarters of those sold were to be paid for in currency at the established rate of depreciation, currency certificates at the rates above mentioned, or specie certificates at nominal, that is at face value. For one quarter payment was to be made in hard money, or bond given for the payment of hard money at a later date.

The refusal of the tax collectors to accept the new specie certificates, and the restriction placed on the use of currency certificates, was naturally received with disfavor by those who held them. Some of the Moravians spoke of selling their certificates at half their face value,<sup>29</sup> but the leaders of the Moravian community advised them to wait and see whether something better could be done, for the currency certificates could still be used in paying the Specific Tax, if they had been issued for supplies furnished the troops, and otherwise in buying confiscated land, and the new specie certificates were available for use in the purchase of confiscated Negroes. It was thought that Negroes might be bought at public sale, some of them to be used in one of the Moravian towns, and the others to be resold.<sup>30</sup> This plan was apparently not carried out, but it indicates possibilities in the use of certificates that year.

In May, 1782, the Assembly ordered the issuing of bounty certificates to the North Carolina volunteers, drafted men and substitutes in the continental line, no difference in amount being made between the three classes.<sup>31</sup> Unpaid bounties had been accumulating for two or more years. In January, 1780, it was reported <sup>32</sup> that soldiers

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<sup>28</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 424-427.

<sup>29</sup> Aeltesten Conferenz, June 10, 1782.

<sup>30</sup> Aeltesten Conferenz, Nov. 27, 1782; Aufseher Collegium, Dec. 10, 1782.

<sup>31</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XIX, 56.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 318.



would not march until their bounties were paid. In the spring of that year a drafted man was promised \$150.00 and a volunteer \$300.00 a year for three years, also a prime slave and one hundred acres of land.<sup>33</sup> In February, 1781, the offer was for £3000 in money or certificates on the public treasury for a volunteer, drafted man or substitute.<sup>34</sup> In July, 1781, the bounty was £20 specie, or its value in currency, for any able-bodied man enlisting in the state troops for one year.<sup>35</sup> In May, 1782, the bounty certificate awarded to each volunteer, drafted man or substitute was \$7,500.00.

In June, 1782, the Assembly of North Carolina noted the fact that the Congress of the United States would settle the proportion due to each state from the commencement of the war to January 1, 1782. The auditor of North Carolina was instructed to make out and transmit to Congress all necessary information concerning moneys expended by North Carolina for items which were properly a charge on the United States as a whole, and a commissioner was appointed to adjust the claims of the State.<sup>36</sup> The "Revolutionary Accounts" on file in the rooms of the North Carolina Historical Commission, were compiled during the negotiations for settlement between North Carolina and the United States, which began with this action of the Assembly and continued through several years. North Carolina was to receive credit by the United States for payment made to North Carolina officers and soldiers of the American Army,<sup>37</sup> and in addition claim was made for the vast amount of supplies furnished the militia<sup>38</sup> and the continental troops. The act already referred to, which required the District Auditors to transmit to the Standing Board of Auditors the counter part of each certificate issued, made it possible to compile a fairly complete list, though the notations on some of the sheets filed in the rooms of the Historical Commission show that not all the vouchers were available when the lists were prepared, and therefore it was not always possible to tell for what the certificate had been issued.

The North Carolina Assembly of April, 1783, dropped the Specific Tax,<sup>39</sup> and provided that the grain and other provisions remain-

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 8, 198.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 368.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 967.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 352.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 782.

<sup>38</sup> Heading to sheets in Book A, Revolutionary Accounts.

<sup>39</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 477, 496.



ing from the preceding year should be sold in the public stores, although soldiers still under arms were allowed to draw supplies as needed. The three-fold tax on Moravians, Quakers and others was repealed.<sup>40</sup> In addition to the pecuniary tax laid by the North Carolina Assembly, the United States Congress laid a tax on land in all the states, but the returns from this federal tax were not very satisfactory.<sup>41</sup>

The April, 1783, Assembly ordered a new issue of paper money <sup>42</sup>—£100,000—the value to be £1 for two and a half Spanish milled dollars. This new currency was to be legal tender, but by October of the same year it had begun to depreciate,<sup>43</sup> and on December 1st the Moravians of Salem decided to keep it out of circulation in their town as much as possible, and to hold what came in by trade for the payment of taxes,<sup>44</sup> which were collected in the middle of that month.<sup>45</sup> The currency act provided that officers and soldiers who were or had been in the continental line should receive one quarter of the balance due them in this new currency, and the commissioners were to issue specie certificates for the other three quarters, the certificates to bear interest at 6% until paid. Confiscated land still unsold was dedicated to the redemption of this new currency.<sup>46</sup>

The Specific Tax having been dropped, and certificates being refused for the pecuniary tax, it became necessary to provide another channel for the redemption of the numerous outstanding certificates of various kinds, and the April, 1783, Assembly reopened the land offices in the counties which formerly had them, and appointed Entry-takers. It also opened a land office for the land belonging to North Carolina “beyond the Allegheny Mountains.”<sup>47</sup> This “western land” was bounded by an extension of the line between North Carolina and Virginia, the Mississippi River, the 35° North Latitude, and the crest of the Appalachians. Within this limit one reservation was laid off for the Cherokee Indians and another for the exclusive use of officers and soldiers of the continental line, and the rest was opened to the public. Col. John Armstrong was elected by

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 492.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, 738, 885.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 477.

<sup>43</sup> Helfer Conferenz, Oct. 9, 1783.

<sup>44</sup> Aufseher Collegium, Dec. 1, 1783.

<sup>45</sup> Wachovia Administration Journal, Dec. 11, 1783.

<sup>46</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 478.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 478, 479.



the Assembly as Entry-taker for this western land, with his office at Hillsborough.<sup>48</sup> A person entering a claim must pay into the hands of the Entry-taker £10 for each hundred acres, payment to be made "in specie, in specie certificates at their nominal value, or certificates for currency as rated by law, and all other certificates at value ascertained by the scale of depreciation." Col. Martin Armstrong<sup>49</sup> was appointed to survey the land assigned to the continental soldiers and officers, on receipt of warrant of survey. The soldiers' reservation was bounded<sup>50</sup> by a line beginning in the boundary of Virginia where the Cumberland River intersects the same, thence south fifty miles, thence west to the Tennessee River, thence down the Tennessee River to the Virginia line, thence with the Virginia line east to the beginning. An act passed by the Assembly in 1780<sup>51</sup> had anticipated this, and had provided that the size of tracts should range from 640 acres for a private to 12,000 acres for a brigadier. In 1782 a special grant of 25,000 acres was made to Gen. Nathanael Greene in recognition of "his extraordinary services."<sup>52</sup> The county land offices had been opened by the Assembly of November, 1777,<sup>53</sup> but had been closed from June, 1781,<sup>54</sup> to April, 1783. Prior to the Revolution there had been two land offices in North Carolina, one issuing grants in the royal portion of the Colony,<sup>55</sup> and the other looking after the lands belonging to John, Earl Granville,<sup>56</sup> both of these ceasing to function when hostilities broke out.

The opening of the western land served its purpose in redeeming many of the specie certificates. Numerous sheets filed among the above mentioned "Revolutionary Accounts" bear the heading: "Specie certificates paid into the Comptroller's office by John Armstrong, Entry-Taker." Among them are a number of certificates granted to Moravians for relatively small amounts, and it is evident that persons interested in taking up western land gathered specie certificates from various sources; it is evident also that the specie certificates granted by the auditors for supplies were on a par with specie certificates granted for military service. Whether Armstrong

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 563.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 482.

<sup>50</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 483.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 337.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 421; XXIV, 569.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 43.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 400.

<sup>55</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IV, 40, 53.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 30, 32.



refused to accept any but specie certificates, or whether currency certificates were entered separately on sheets now lost, it is impossible to say, but the probability is that when currency certificates again became legal tender for taxes, and western entries were restricted to the land reserved for the continental line, only specie certificates were accepted. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that only specie certificates are mentioned in the act prohibiting the use of certificates in entering land after November, 1790, in the land offices of North Carolina.

April, 1784, saw another swing of the pendulum in regard to the redemption of certificates. The North Carolina Assembly agreed to a suggestion that the western lands should be ceded to the United States, and passed an act authorizing the North Carolina delegates in Congress to execute a deed or deeds for the same.<sup>57</sup> Another act closed the western land to entry, except for officers and soldiers of the continental line,<sup>58</sup> and the land office for the western land was moved to Nashville,<sup>59</sup> then in Davidson County, N. C., now Tennessee. Commissioners were instructed to adjust claims for services prior to January 1, 1782, computing interest to August 1, 1783, and to pay one quarter of the amount due in money and issue indented certificates for the balance.<sup>60</sup> The closing of the public land office in the western part of the State threw the redemption of certificates back on the taxes, and the act levying the tax for 1784<sup>61</sup> provided that it might be "paid in State currency or in gold or silver at the rate established by law, in continental or State dollar bills or soldiers' bounty certificates at the rate of 800 for 1, in specie certificates of any kind at their nominal value, or currency certificates as rated by the Act for the sale of confiscated property: Provided, the continental or State dollar bills, specie and other certificates, shall not be received for more than one half the said tax." The Assembly also authorized the United States to collect a tax to make the proportion due from North Carolina.<sup>62</sup>

Congress having hesitated to assume the entire expence of the Indian expeditions sent out by North Carolina, and of the militia

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<sup>57</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 561.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 563.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 566.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 567.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 556.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 557.



aid given by this State to South Carolina and Georgia, the Assembly of October, 1784, repealed the act ceding the western land.<sup>63</sup> An attempt was made to reopen the public land office in the west,<sup>64</sup> but the attempt failed, and it was decided to allow the sale of confiscated land and Negroes for current money of the State or for the certificates granted to officers and soldiers of the continental line.<sup>65</sup> A bill was introduced in the Assembly to declare the currency certificates issued by the State Auditors, the certificates issued by the Comptroller General prior to May 17, 1783, and all other certificates reduced by the scale of depreciation when granted, of the same value as specie certificates, carrying the same interest, and to be received in the same payments, but the bill was rejected by the House on its second reading.<sup>66</sup> The Moravians of Wachovia<sup>67</sup> were able to pay their 1784 taxes in paper money and tickets, or certificates, and the Assembly provided that the taxes for 1785 might be paid in the same manner.<sup>68</sup>

The District Board of Auditors meeting in Salem in September, 1783, did not finish its work because of the illness of two members.<sup>69</sup> Elsewhere there were accounts still to be adjusted, so the October, 1784, Assembly ordered that the District Auditors, and the board for settling the accounts of officers and soldiers, should sit for thirty days before February 1, 1785, and then disband.<sup>70</sup> Again their work was not finished, and the time was extended, the Assembly of November, 1785,<sup>71</sup> ordering the commissioners on soldiers' claims to sit in the first ten days of April, May and June, 1786, and "all accounts that are not exhibited within that time shall forever hereafter be of no effect." "The late District Auditors" were instructed "to meet at or near their district court-houses at any time after the 1st day of April next, to receive and settle all such claims not heretofore allowed, as the late District Auditors were by law empowered to settle."

An act<sup>72</sup> for levying a tax for the support of government during 1786, and for the redemption of continental money, old paper cur-

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 678, 679.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 428, 761.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 662.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 419, 452, 453, 750, 789, 809.

<sup>67</sup> Wachovia Administration Journal, Jan. 31, 1785.

<sup>68</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 658.

<sup>69</sup> Salem diary, Sept. 1, 1783.

<sup>70</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 686.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 734, 735.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 731.



rency, specie and other certificates, allowed payment to be made as in the preceding year. Commissioners of confiscated property were told that they must accept currency of this State, certificates granted officers and soldiers, final settlement certificates, and currency certificates at the rates established by law.<sup>73</sup>

During the next two years little change occurred. The Moravians paid their taxes for 1786 partly in paper money and partly in tickets.<sup>74</sup> Old paper currency, Auditors' and Comptroller's certificates paid in for taxes were burned.<sup>75</sup> Congress established a board<sup>76</sup> to liquidate and settle all accounts between the United States and individual states, the commissions to expire on April 1, 1787, except for the commissioners for North Carolina and Georgia, who were to serve six months longer.

In 1788 the tax on land<sup>77</sup> in North Carolina was fixed at three shillings per hundred acres, to be paid in state currency, gold or silver; and an additional three shillings per hundred acres to be paid in continental or state dollar bills or soldiers' bounty certificates at 800 to 1, specie certificates at nominal value with interest (except those issued since January 1, 1786), currency certificates as rated by the act for the sale of confiscated property, or in final settlement certificates at their nominal value. Land west of the Appalachian Mountains was to pay two shillings per hundred acres in state currency, gold or silver; with an additional two shillings in continental or state dollar bills, soldiers' bounty certificates or specie certificates.

The Assembly of November, 1789, laid a tax for extinguishing the public debt, to be paid in specie certificates of every kind, with interest thereon.<sup>78</sup> That the number of these certificates was at last appreciably reduced is indicated by the provision that tax-payers might pay in state currency if they liked, at the rate of four shillings currency for twenty shillings in specie certificates. It was further provided that all outstanding certificates must be brought to the Treasurer's office on or before January 1, 1791, where if found genuine they would be exchanged for other certificates redeemable in specie at the rate of four shillings of the new for twenty of the old.

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 803.

<sup>74</sup> Wachovia Administration Ledger A, March 31, 1787.

<sup>75</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 221.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 764, 783.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, 952.

<sup>78</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXV, 7.



The Moravians of Wachovia still had some specie certificates which they used in paying the tax for 1789,<sup>79</sup>—their last appearance in the Moravian account books.

In November, 1789, the Assembly of North Carolina again ceded the western land to the United States,<sup>80</sup> although a re-statement of accounts between the nation and state was still under consideration by a Board of Commissioners as late as November, 1791.<sup>81</sup> After November, 1790, specie certificates were not accepted on land entered in North Carolina land offices;<sup>82</sup> and with the beginning of 1791 the redemption of the Revolutionary certificates of every name and kind ceased to occupy the mind of the North Carolina Assembly.

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<sup>79</sup> Wachovia Administration Journal, March 31, 1790.

<sup>80</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXV, 5.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 803.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV, 77.



## THE BUFFALO IN NORTH CAROLINA

BY DOUGLAS L. RIGHTS

The first mention of the American bison is from the expedition of Cortez in Mexico in 1521. A Spanish historian <sup>1</sup> has described Montezuma's menagerie as follows:

In the second square of the same House were the Wild Beasts, which were either presents to Montezuma, or taken by his Hunters, in strong cages of Timber, rang'd in good Order, and under Cover: Lions, Tygers, Bears, and all others of the savage Kind which New-Spain produced; among which the greatest Rarity was the Mexican Bull; a wonderful composition of divers Animals. It has crooked Shoulders, with a Bunch on its Back like a Camel; its Flanks dry, its Tail large, and its Neck cover'd with Hair like a Lion. It is cloven footed, its Head armed like that of a Bull, which it resembles in Fierceness, with no less strength and Agility.

A Spanish explorer, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza, who was wrecked on the Gulf coast in 1530, discovered the bison in what is now the state of Texas.<sup>2</sup> Twelve years later Coronado in the Southwest crossed the plains that were "full of crooke-backed oxen."<sup>3</sup>

The western and southwestern territory of the United States lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River was noted as the roving grounds for the buffalo. Thousands of the animals were to be found in a single herd. Some idea of the vast numbers may be gained from an estimate of the total number slaughtered by white men in a period of three years, computed by a count of the hides shipped over the railroads from 1872 to 1874. The estimate reached the amazing figure of three million.<sup>4</sup>

The presence of the buffalo west of the Mississippi has been recorded from the earliest days of exploration. There is ample evidence that its habitat was also in the eastern states.

De Soto's expedition in 1540 did not reveal the animal in its native haunts, but some of the explorers secured a buffalo hide near the southern extremities of the Blue Ridge, if we may believe their report on return "bringing a cow-hide as delicate as a calf-skin the people

<sup>1</sup> De Solis (1724).

<sup>2</sup> Davis, *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (1869), p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>4</sup> Dodge, Col. Richard Irving, *Plains of the Great West*, pp. 139-144.



had given them, the hair being like the soft wool on the cross of a merino with the common sheep." (A Fidalgo of Elvas).<sup>5</sup>

An English navigator, Samuel Argall,<sup>6</sup> in 1612 wrote:

As soon as I had unladen this corne, I set my men to the felling of Timber, for the building of a Frigat, which I had left half finished at Point Comfort, the 19. of March: and returned myself with the ship into Pembroke [Potomac] River, and so discovered to the head of it, which is about 65. leagues into the Land, and navigable for any ship. And then marching into the Countrie, I found great store of Cattle as big as Kine, of which the Indians that were my guides killed a couple, which were found to be very good and wholesome meate, and are very easie to be killed, in regard they are heavy, slow, and not so wild as other beasts of the wilderness.

Oglethorpe mentioned buffaloes among the wild beasts of Georgia <sup>7</sup> in 1733, and there is evidence that the same report was credited to early settlers of South Carolina.<sup>8</sup>

Concerning the Red River region of Kentucky, Daniel Boone stated, "The buffaloes were more frequent than I have seen cattle in the settlements, browsing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage of those extensive plains, fearless because ignorant of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing." Boone found also vast herds grazing in the valleys of the Cumberland Mountains in East Tennessee.

It may be noted that these references have located the buffalo in the geographical limits of the states touching North Carolina. A reasonable inference would include the territory thus surrounded. Evidences supporting this inference are not lacking.

The best authority on the Indian tribes of the Piedmont region of North Carolina, James Mooney, claimed that the Siouan Indians located there were known as followers of the buffalo, and that buffaloes once inhabited that section.<sup>9</sup> It is unfortunate that none of the aboriginal remains of the State reveal testimony of this animal.

<sup>5</sup> Irving, *De Soto Narrative*, p. 243.

<sup>6</sup> Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* (1625), Vol. iv, p. 1765.

<sup>7</sup> *Collections Georgia Historical Society*, Vol. i, p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> Long, *Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's River* (1823), Vol. ii, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Mooney, James, *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (Report 22, Bureau of Ethnology, 1894), p. 11.



There is not a bone, horn or other bit of concrete evidence thus far recovered. Possibly the future will disclose some such testimony, but at present it is entirely lacking.

A study of the small streams of North Carolina, particularly of the Piedmont, reveals numerous so-called Buffalo Creeks. These are found in Caldwell, Cleveland, Cabarrus, Forsyth, Guilford, Johnston, and perhaps other counties. Practically all of these are in the fertile valley land of the Piedmont area. This is a good inference that the name has some significance in locating former trails of the extinct animal.

When John Lawson<sup>10</sup> made his memorable journey across the Province in 1701 he enjoyed a brief stay at Sapona, located on the Yadkin River near Salisbury. Visiting Tutelo Indians came down from the upper Yadkin, of whom Lawson stated that they were "tall likely men, having great quantities of Buffaloes, Elks and Bears, with other sort of Deer amongst them, which strong Food makes large, robust bodies."

In his description of North Carolina, Lawson heads the list of "The Beasts of Carolina" with the "Buffelo, or wild beef," with this information:

The Buffelo is a wild Beast of America, which has a Bunch on his Back, as the Cattle of the St. Lawrence are said to have. He seldom appears amongst the English Inhabitants, his chief haunt being in the Land of the Mississippi, which is for the most part, a plain Country; yet I have known some kill'd on the Hilly Part of Cape-Fear-River, they passing the Ledges of Vast Mountains from the said Mississippi, before they can come near us. I have eaten of their meat, but do not think it as good as our Beef; yet the younger Calves are dry'd up for excellent Food, as very likely they may be. It is conjectured that these Buffelos, mixed in Breed with our tame Cattle, would much better the Breed for Largeness and Milk, which seems very probable. Of the wild Bull's Skin, Buff is made. The Indians cut the Skin into Quarters for the Ease of their Transportation, and make Beds to lie on. They spin the hair into Garters, Girdles, and Sashes and the like, it being long and curled, and often of a chestnut red colour. These Monsters are found to weigh (as I am informed by a Traveler of Credit) from 1,600 to 2,400 Weight.

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<sup>10</sup> Lawson, John, *History of Carolina* (London, 1714).



It is likely that Lawson's description contains much hearsay evidence, but it is, nevertheless, fairly supported. For instance, Audubon <sup>11</sup> stated that "a large bison bull will generally weigh nearly 2,000 pounds, and a fat cow about 1,200 pounds."

Twenty-seven years after Lawson's journey, Col. William Byrd <sup>12</sup> and other representatives from Virginia and North Carolina surveyed the dividing line between the states. Col. Byrd's journal contains many entries that must be taken *cum grano salis*. However, he gave reliable accounts of what he saw and of the experiences in which he engaged. He has furnished the nearest approach to the buffalo of any of the observers describing from first hand knowledge. As his meeting with this giant of the wilderness occurred near the dividing line, his account will give Virginia an equal share of honor with North Carolina in claim for location of the vanished bison.

On the third of October, 1728, the party came upon buffalo tracks in the vicinity of Tewahominy Creek (Aaron Creek) in the neighborhood of north Person County. The land was level and well watered. Although they observed signs, they had not the pleasure of seeing the buffaloes. The Colonel commented: "They either Smelt us out, having that sense very Quick, or else were alarm'd at the Noise that so many People must necessarily make in marching along. At the Sight of a Man they will Snort and Grunt, cock up their ridiculous Short Taile, and tear up the Ground with a Sort of Timorous Fury. These wild Cattle hardly ever range alone, but herd together like those that are tame. They are Seldom seen so far North as 40° of latitude, delighting much in canes and Reeds, which grow generally more Southerly."

The following day, four miles beyond, near Sugartree Creek, "one of our Men Spy'd three Buffaloes, but his Piece being loaded only with Goose-shot, he was able to make no effectual Impression on their thick hides; however, this Disappointment was made up by a Brace of Bucks, and as many Wild Turkeys, kill'd by the rest of the company."

<sup>11</sup> Audubon, John J., *Quadrupeds of North America*, Vol. ii, p. 44.

<sup>12</sup> Byrd, Col. William, *Dividing Line Histories*, edited by William K. Boyd (Raleigh, 1929); *Writings of Colonel William Byrd*, edited by John Spencer Bassett (New York, 1901).



One mile beyond Hyco Creek the company quartered near Buffalo Creek, "so nam'd from the frequent Tokens we discover'd of that American Behemoth."

The surveyors found no more signs on their expedition to the western limits of their march, but on their return they bagged their game. The date was November 11; the location was near Sugartree Creek. The event is described briefly in the Colonel's secret history and amplified in his other account. The latter narration follows in Col. Byrd's characteristic style:

We took up our Quarters upon Sugar-tree Creek, in the same camp we had lain in when we came up, and happen'd to be entertained at Supper with a Rarity we had never had the fortune to meet with before, during the whole Expedition.

A little wide of this creek, one of the men had the Luck to meet with a Young Buffalo of two Years Old. It was a Bull, which, notwithstanding he was no older, was as big as an ordinary Ox. His legs are very thick and very Short, and his Hoofs exceeding broad. His Back rose into a kind of Bunch a little above the Shoulders, which I believe contributes not a little to that creature's enormous Strength. His Body is vastly deep from the shoulders to the Brisket, sometimes 6 feet in those that are full grown. The portly figure of this Animal is disgrac'd by a Shabby little Tail, not above 12 Inches long. This he cocks up on end whenever he's in a Passion, and, instead of lowing or bellowing, grunts with no better grace than a Hog.

The Hair growing on his Head and Neck is long and Shagged, and so Soft that it will Spin into Thread not unlike Mohair, which might be wove into a Sort of Camlet. Some People have Stockings knit of it, that would have serv'd an Israelite during his forty Years' march thro' the Wilderness.

Its horns are short and Strong, of which the Indians make large Spoons, which they say will Split and fall to Pieces whenever Poison is put into them. Its Colour is a dirty Brown, and its hide so thick that it is Scarce penetrable. However, it makes very Spongy Sole Leather by the ordinary method of Tanning, tho' this fault might by good Contrivance be mended.

As thick as this poor Beast's Hide was, a Bullet made Shift to enter it and fetch him down. It was found all alone, tho' Buffaloes Seldom are. They usually range about in Herds, like other cattle, and tho' they differ something in figure, are certainly of the same Species. There are two Reasons for this Opinion: the Flesh of both has exactly the same taste, and the mixed Breed betwixt both, they say, will generate. All the Difference I could perceive between the Flesh of Buffalo and Com-



mon Beef was, that the Flesh of the first was much Yellower than that of the other, and the Lean something tougher.

The Men were so delighted with this new dyet, that the Gridiron and Frying-Pan had no more rest all night, than a poor Husband Subject to Curtain Lectures. Buffaloes may be easily tamed when they are taken young. . . .

If we could get into a breed of them they might be made very usefull, not only for the Dairy, by giving an Ocean of Milk but also for drawing vast and cumbersome Weights by their prodigious Strength. These with the other Advantages I mention'd before, wou'd make this sort of Cattle more profitable to the owner, than any other we are acquainted with, though they would need a world of Provender.

On his way home Col. Byrd engaged a neighbor, Mrs. Mumford by name, to undertake to spin the buffalo hair in order to knit for him a pair of those fabulous stockings.

Again in 1733, on a journey to establish the boundaries of his estate called "The Land of Eden," the Colonel had good fortune to meet buffalo in the region of what is now upper Caswell and Person counties, near the former scene of feasting on this rarity. A two year old buffalo was knocked down seasonably as provisions were running low. A few days later a solitary bull was discovered, but was spared "from the principle of never slaughtering an innocent creature to no purpose,"—a noble example which hunters since have rarely followed.

Dr. John Brickell's <sup>13</sup> *Natural History of North Carolina* also heads the list of animals with a description of "The Buffelo, or wild Beef." His report is obviously a paraphrase of Lawson's description with a little additional information that is subject to question. The picture of the "Buffelo" that adorns his treatise would go far to prove that Brickell was acquainted with the subject only by hearsay. However, his statements bear witness to the current information in the colony, and are therefore given herewith:

The *Buffelo*, or *wild Beef*, is one of the largest wild Beasts that is yet known in these parts of *America*; it hath a Bunch upon it's Back, and thick short Horns, bending forward. *Pliny* reporteth in the eleventh Book of his *Natural History*, that the Horns of one *Buffelo's* Head were so large that they contain'd or held two Measures, call'd *Urnae*,

<sup>13</sup> Brickell, John, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (Dublin, 1737).



which is about eight Gallons. This Monster of the Woods seldom appears amongst the *European* Inhabitants, it's chiefest haunts being in the *Savannas* near the Mountains, or Heads of the great Rivers. Their Flesh is very course, and nothing to be compared with our Beef, but their Calves are said to be excellent good Meat, as in all probability they are: And it is conjectur'd that these *Buffelo's* being mix'd, and breeding with our tame Cattle, would much improve the Species for largeness and Milk; for these Monsters (as I have been inform'd) weigh from 1600 to 2400 pounds Weight. They are a very fierce Creature, and much larger than an Ox. The *Indians* cut their Skins into Quarters, for the ease of Transportation or Carriage, and frequently make Beds of them to lie on; they likewise spin their Hair into Garters, Girdles, Sashes, and the like, being long and curled, and frequently of a black or red *Chesnut* colour. Of these Skins and the Wild Bull's the best Buff is made. Their Horns wou'd serve for several uses, such as drinking Cups, Powder-horns, Lanterns, and many other Necessaries, being transparent when wrought; Rings made of them are said to help the Cramp, and the Liver the Spleen; the other Parts have much the same Virtues with the Ox. There were two of the Calves of this Creature taken alive in the Year 1730, by some of the Planters living near *Neus* River, but whether they transported them to *Europe*, or what other uses they made of them, I know not, having occasion to leave the Country soon after.

The buffalo was an easy prey for the frontiersman. There is little wonder that extermination was rapid. As settlers moved in, the buffalo disappeared from the scene. However, there were still traces of the vanishing herds as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, as a trustworthy observer has recorded.

Bishop Spangenberg<sup>14</sup> crossed the Province in 1752. He was seeking a location for a Moravian settlement. He began his surveys at the Catawba River, crossed the Blue Ridge near Blowing Rock, descended to the Yadkin River, and finally made his choice of the Wachovia land of which Winston-Salem is the present center. In what is now Alexander County, in the vicinity of Little River, he made the following note:

The banks of the streams are so high that a man could not ride across, had not the buffalo broken them down here and there. . . .

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<sup>14</sup> Spangenberg, Bishop A. G. Field Notes and other writings, in *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, edited by Adelaide L. Fries (North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, 1922), Vol. i.



There is a pretty little creek in hand, and the water from a spring in the hills runs down and forms a pool, where the buffalo probably bathed in hot weather, at least they have made a path around it.

Spangenberg was not an eye witness of the buffalo, but the signs he recorded are fully in accord with the habits of the animal.

There is little more to be said except in the way of tradition. In the year 1888 a Mr. C. R. Moore <sup>15</sup> wrote:

In the winter of 1857 I was staying for the night at the house of an old gentleman named Houston. I should judge he was seventy then. He lived near Buffalo Ford, on the Catawba River, about 4 miles from Statesville, N. C. I asked him how the ford got its name. He told me that his grandfather told him that when he was a boy, the buffalo crossed there, and that when the rocks in the river were bare, they would eat the moss that grew upon them.

Such traditions are still handed down and doubtless with good foundation. One instance will suffice. Four miles from Deep River, on Fork Creek, Randolph County, is the home of B. F. Brown, who has in his possession the old land grant papers from the English government. There is a family tradition that up the creek a short distance from the home is a former "buffalo wallow."

From the foregoing records there is little room to doubt that herds of bison once roamed widely over the plains and valleys of central North Carolina.

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<sup>15</sup> Hornaday, William T. *The Extinction of the American Bison* (Smithsonian Report, 1887), p. 379. This detailed study covers thoroughly the entire North American field.



## THE FREE NEGRO IN ANTE-BELLUM GEORGIA

BY RALPH B. FLANDERS

Far down the scale of Georgia society, slightly superior to their more lowly brethren, the slaves, stood the free persons of color. Although never more than one per cent of the total population of the State, constant attention was fixed upon them, great care taken to prevent their increase, and their activity sharply circumscribed. Throughout the South as a class they were held in low repute, being viewed as an injurious by-product of slavery. In view of the small number in the State, Georgia's attitude is surprising. However, the conviction that the institution of slavery was necessary to prosperity, the lack of confidence in the integrity of the Negro as a free-man and citizen, together with the fear of a black uprising may afford a partial explanation of this attitude. It is the purpose of this essay to investigate the legal status of this unenviable class, to describe the hardships and mitigations of the system of society under which they lived and moved, and explain the sentiment of Georgia with respect to them.

During the proprietary period of Georgia's colonial history, before the trustees admitted slavery, an effort was made to use white indentured servants. But the task of clearing the land was exhaustive, quite beyond the strength of the white men, who proved ready victims of the miasma of the swampy tidewater. They were physically and numerically too weak to clear the wilderness or to cultivate the unhealthy areas which made up the colony at that time. This lack of a suitable labor supply appeared to the colonists to be the major cause of their backwardness.

Several times the trustees were petitioned to remove the obnoxious restriction, while infractions of the regulation were open and flagrant. The expiration of the terms of many white servants, the refusal of others to work or complete their terms, caused the bolder planters to hire Negroes from South Carolinians, who, in case of trouble, stood by to claim their property. Finding this ruse successful, the colonists soon went one step further and hired their servants for one-hundred-year terms, paying in advance. Due to the constant agitation for slaves on the part of the colonists, and the influence of



Oglethorpe, Habersham, and Whitefield, in 1749 the trustees removed the hated restriction, and Georgia moved into quieter waters.

In defining a slave, the Slave Code of 1755, under which free Negroes were tried, excepted "free Indians in amity with this government and Negroes, Mulattos or mestizos who are now free. . . ." <sup>1</sup> Little distinction seems to have been made between slaves and free Negroes during the colonial period. They were tried before the same tribunal; laws regulating the activity of slaves were usually extended to free persons of color, while violations of the law drew the same penalty. Moreover, the law required that each free Negro should have a white guardian.

In most instances Negroes were not permitted to compete with white labor. In 1774 the city of Savannah regulated the hire of porters, for it was held that the lack of such regulation was not only "Injurious to the Inhabitants in General but greatly detrimental to the trading Interest in Particular." An elaborate system of licenses and badges was provided, the working day (from dawn to dark) defined, and the wages stipulated.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless Negroes labored in the capacities of blacksmiths, coopers, mechanics, and carpenters.

Throughout the colonial period slaves and free Negroes were taxed as polls, as was the case in most of the other provinces. A law of 1755 for "Raising and Granting to His Majesty A Sum of Money to Defray the Expenses of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and other Contingencies of Government," laid a tax of one shilling on all Negroes and slaves within the province.<sup>3</sup> Two years later this was doubled,<sup>4</sup> probably to meet some special contingency, as the succeeding year, 1758, it was reduced to the former amount.<sup>5</sup> In 1759 the tax was again placed at two shillings, increased the following year by six pence,<sup>6</sup> which remained fixed until 1770, when the amount was one shilling six pence.<sup>7</sup> In 1768 appeared the first tax levied on free Negroes as a separate class with a distinction made in the amount. This tax varied sharply from time to time, but whether this indicates a change of sentiment toward the group or was merely to

<sup>1</sup> *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XVIII, 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, Pt. II, 23 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XVIII, 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 241.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 253.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, 338, 394.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, Pt. I, 162.



raise money to meet a certain need is impossible to say, as the records are silent save in furnishing the bare facts. From twelve shillings six pence in 1768<sup>8</sup> the tax was increased to twenty shillings three years later.<sup>9</sup> The large tax levied in 1778, forty shillings on free Negroes and five on slaves, was due probably to the inflation of the currency.

The same flexibility characterized taxation during the period, 1783-1795. At the beginning of the period the tax was fixed at "one quarter of a dollar on every Negro, Mulatto, or Mustizo."<sup>10</sup> Two years later, 1785, a tax of 2s. 4d. was imposed on all slaves, and 1£. 1s. 9d. on free Negroes between the ages of twenty-one and fifty.<sup>11</sup> The following year the age limit for free Negroes was extended a decade,<sup>12</sup> and in 1791 it was lowered to sixteen years.<sup>13</sup> In 1796 slaves under sixty were taxed 37½ cents a poll; free Negroes, twenty-one and over, 50 cents.<sup>14</sup>

The statement of Thomas R. R. Cobb that "In America unless restricted by statutory regulation, it has been held, in accordance with the principles of the Common Law, that no formal or prescribed words were necessary to effectuate the manumission of slaves,"<sup>15</sup> is supported in the case of Georgia during the colonial and early statehood periods. Colonial legislation does not deal with the subject. Apparently any written statement was sufficient to free a slave. The records reveal the fact that for various reasons many slaves were elevated to the free Negro class. In 1760 Hazzard Richard manumitted a "negro wench . . . for faithful services,"<sup>16</sup> while in 1775 Joseph Butler, a planter, gave freedom to five slaves.<sup>17</sup> Negroes so freed were required to keep in their possession certificates of freedom. The following item is illustrative of this fact: "This is to satisfy to whom it may concern That this Black Man Mr. Moses Handlen is a Free Man leaft by his Master Mr. Champernown Hand-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, Pt. I, 162 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, Pt. I, 451.

<sup>10</sup> H. Marbury and W. H. Crawford, *A Compilation of the Laws of Georgia from 1755 to 1800*, 447.

<sup>11</sup> Marbury and Crawford, *Compilation*, 452.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 461. Tax on slaves 4s., free Negroes, 21s. 9d.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 487. Tax on slaves and free Negroes, 2s. 4d.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 507. During the previous years the amount varied from one to two shillings, and the highest between 1787 and 1796 was five shillings. From 1787 to 1795 the tax on slaves and free Negroes was the same.

<sup>15</sup> *The Law of Slavery*, 286-287.

<sup>16</sup> *Records of the Government of Georgia*, I, (Bonds, Bills of Sale, Deeds of Gift, and Powers of Attorney), 1755-1762, pp. 2-3.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, O, 1761-1765.



len, deceased in the year of our Lord 1760. This very black Moses Handlen is a very onnis Black man I knowed him from a Boy.”<sup>18</sup> As this document indicates, it was customary for Negroes to take the surname of their former masters, or some highly respected figure in the community.

There were several ways by which the free Negro population might be augmented. In the first place, by the natural increase of those Negroes declared free in the Slave Code of 1755; voluntary immigration; runaways from other states, as well as from Georgia; the purchase of freedom; and, finally, manumission. The growth of this element of the Georgia population was due almost solely to the natural increase of those already free, to the purchase of freedom, and, during a short period, to manumission.

The policy of the State and the Supreme Court toward emancipation and manumission<sup>19</sup> reflects to some extent their conception of the institution of slavery and their defence of it. During the colonial period masters had freed slaves for meritorious or faithful services, and their power to do so was unquestioned. The liberal philosophy which accompanied the Revolution persisted for some time after 1783, and many were the slaves freed for this reason. Daniel Grant, a Wilkes County planter, was “fully convinced that perpetual slavery is most unjust and contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, and the Natural Rights of all Mankind,” and proceeded to manumit, by will, his entire slave force.<sup>20</sup>

But reaction set in, which increased as the cotton belt was developed and slave prices rose. The Georgia Constitution of 1798, as well as that of 1861,<sup>21</sup> forbade the emancipation of slaves by the legislature except with the consent of the owners, and, save for a brief period, the State pursued a constant policy of discouraging manumission. In 1801 all deeds of manumission save by special act of the legislature were declared illegal. However, this was repealed in 1815 so far as to permit an owner to free his slaves by will and testament. In 1818 an act rendered void all subsequent manumis-

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in U. B. Phillips, “The Archives of Georgia,” in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903*, I, 445-446.

<sup>19</sup> While the words “emancipation” and “manumission” were used synonymously in the laws, the former has assumed a political significance, action by the State freeing the entire race, while the latter term considers a strict legal and personal relation, an action by the master.

<sup>20</sup> *Records of Wilkes County*, Book of Wills, 1792-1801, 38.

<sup>21</sup> Cobb, *Digest*, 1125. Texts of both constitutions may be found in Walter McElreath, *Treatise on the Constitution of Georgia*.



sion by will and testament,<sup>22</sup> which was strengthened in 1859 by a law "to prohibit the post-mortem manumission of slaves," which declared that any clauses in "any deed, will, or other instrument made for the purpose of conferring freedom on slaves directly or indirectly, within or without the State, to take effect after the death of the owner, shall be absolutely null and void."<sup>23</sup> Ill-esteem for the free Negro, together with the pro-slavery sentiment and the abolition movement, was the general motive prompting this legislation.

That such a policy toward manumission was approved by some citizens may be gathered from the remarks of a prominent editor in 1829. It was his opinion that slavery was bad enough, but manumission in a slave state without exportation was unbearable. "Experience proves," he wrote, "that there is no condition of humanity which begets more wretchedness, more vice, more premature disease and mortality, than that of emancipated Negroes who remain without political rights in the midst of a free white population."<sup>24</sup>

Although discouraged by law and at periods prohibited, manumission was by no means stopped completely as a custom. Nearly every session of the legislature saw the passage of acts manumitting specified slaves whose masters desired it, usually for meritorious service. For example, in 1831, Sophia, the property of Eli Fenn, was freed and given the name of Sophia Fenn;<sup>25</sup> in 1834 Fanny Hickman, for over thirty years the wife of Paschal Hickman, a free colored inhabitant of Burke County, was freed, together with her seven children.<sup>26</sup>

But not all liberations were this prosaic. In 1834 the slave Sam was freed by special act of the legislature at a cost of \$1,800 in reward for his having saved the state capitol from destruction by fire.<sup>27</sup> Some years later this body had occasion to reward another slave, Ransom, who had been hired from his master by the State. By a heroic effort Ransom had saved the Western and Atlantic Railroad bridge over the Chattahoochee River from destruction by fire. Since official sentiment at that time was hostile to manumission, he was purchased by the State and ensured a permanent home. In

<sup>22</sup> Clayton, *Compilation*, 27; Lamar, *Compilation*, 801, 811.

<sup>23</sup> *Acts of the Georgia Assembly*, 1859, 68. Hurd thinks this act was passed in view of the doctrines set forth by Judge J. H. Lumpkin in *Cleland v. Waters* (1855) 19 Ga. 35. (*Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 109n.).

<sup>24</sup> *The Athenian*, Aug. 25, 1829.

<sup>25</sup> *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1831, 225-226.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 1834, 230.

<sup>27</sup> *Georgia Senate Journal*, 1834, 25.



1853 a further resolution directed the chief engineer of the Western and Atlantic, a state-owned railroad, to pay him just wages during good-behavior.<sup>28</sup> Within the city of Atlanta, on the right of way of the railroad, a house was built for Ransom which he occupied until his death many years after the Civil War.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to manumission by act of the legislature, many slaves were freed by will, even when prohibited by law. The probate records contain instances of such, and the majority of cases involving slaves which came before the Supreme Court dealt with this question. The interpretation of these laws is interesting. Two decisions of Superior Courts, prior to the creation of the Supreme Court in 1845, that served as precedents illustrate some change in sentiment. In 1822 the court held that a "manumission subsequent to the Act of 1801, not sanctioned by the legislative authority is absolutely void, and produced no change in the condition of the slaves."<sup>30</sup> A more liberal interpretation was given in *Jordan vs. Heirs of Bradley*,<sup>31</sup> in the Oglethorpe Superior Court in 1830. It was held that if a will directed that any slaves desiring to go to the African Colony be permitted to do so, proper provision having been made for their expenses, such a will was not void under the act of 1818; nor was it inconsistent with the policy of the laws. The court held that the statute prohibiting the manumission of slaves was intended to prevent emancipation where slaves were to remain in the State. Such a decision enabled many owners to free their slaves who would settle in some free state, or in one of the upper slave states more kindly disposed to the Negro.

In the case of *Cleland vs. Waters*, 1855, may be found the epitome of the judicial construction of the law of manumission. In his will, George M. Waters had freed his faithful man William with his future increase. If not compatible with the law for the manumission to take place within the State, the slaves were to be taken to some point of their own selection without the State, and there set free. Judge Henry Lumpkin delivered the opinion of the court. While opposed to freeing slaves in this manner, Lumpkin held that if the slaves lived permanently in a free country they were free. The ob-

<sup>28</sup> *Acts of the Georgia Assembly, 1849-50*, 416-417; 1853, 538.

<sup>29</sup> Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 428n.

<sup>30</sup> *Spencer vs. Negroes Amy and Thomas*, R.M.C. 178.

<sup>31</sup> Dudley 170.



jection taken by the lower court to the clause leaving the selection of the place to the slaves was foolish, said Lumpkin, for on that basis no slave could be freed, as they were incapable of choice. The will did not conflict with the existing laws. "Slavery is a cherished institution in Georgia," he added, "founded in the Constitution and laws of the United States; in her own Constitution and laws, and guarded, protected, defended by the whole spirit of her legislations; approved by her people; intimately interwoven with her present and permanent prosperity. Her interests, her feelings, her judgment and her conscience—not to say her very existence, alike conspire to sustain and perpetuate it."<sup>32</sup> The right to remove slaves for manumission was recognized.

Under no other circumstances were clauses in wills freeing slaves within the State held valid. In 1859 the will of Nathan T. Myrick, of Monroe County, was declared void because it directed that certain Negroes be freed and then removed from the State. Judge Linton Stephens, the half-brother of Alexander H. Stephens, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court, held that the law was against manumission within the State, and that manumission for even *one hour* within the State was void.<sup>33</sup> Certainly there was no vacillation on the part of the court on this point.

The practice of purchasing their freedom added many slaves to the free Negro class. Slaves were allowed to hire their time and to engage in certain skilled trades which afforded the opportunity of accumulating money for this purpose. The following letter of Billy Proctor, a slave residing at Americus, to Col. John B. Lamar, brother-in-law of the famous Howell Cobb, is interesting in this connection:<sup>34</sup>

As my owner Mr. Chapman has determined to dispose of all his Painters, I would prefer to have you buy me to any other man. And I am anxious to get you to do so if you will. You know me very well yourself, but as I wish you to be fully satisfied I beg to refer you to Mr. Nathan C. Monroe, Dr. Strohecker and Mr. Bogg. I am in distress at this time, and will be until I hear from you what you will do. I can be bought for \$1000—and I think that you might get me for 50 Dolls less if you try, though that is Mr. Chapman's price. Now Mas

<sup>32</sup> 19 Ga. 43.

<sup>33</sup> *Myrick vs. Vineburgh*, 30 Ga. 167.

<sup>34</sup> U. B. Phillips, ed., *Plantation and Frontier Documents*, II, 41. Letter dated 1854.



John, I want to be plain and honest with you. If you will buy me I will pay you \$600 per year untill this money is paid, or at any rate will pay for myself in two years. . . . I am fearful that if you do not buy me, there is no telling where I may have to go, and Mr. C. wants me to go where I would be satisfied,—I promise to serve you faithfully, and I know that I am as sound and healthy as any one you could find. You will confer a great favour, sir, by Grabting my request, and I would be very glad to hear from you in regard to the matter at your earliest convenience.

Many slaves were allowed to hire their time, locating in the cities, or travelling about from place to place. Samuel Brady, of Muscogee County, directed that his Negro Tom be permitted “to have and receive the awards of his own labor, also to have the use and enjoyment of his mare and cattle, as I cannot set him free by the laws of the State.”<sup>35</sup> But this subterfuge was soon discovered and handled accordingly. Laws forbade this practice,<sup>36</sup> as it served to increase the free Negro class, and, furthermore, gave rise to a new class, “nominal slaves,”—Negroes neither bond nor free. The institution of slavery had given enough complexity to society without this added confusion.

The city fathers of Washington prohibited slaves from hiring their time within the corporate limits without a license granted by the one having charge of them, and further ordained that “no colored person shall be considered as a hired or house servant within the meaning of this ordinance, when the person to whom he is such pretended servant exacts only a partial or casual or nominal service from him.”<sup>37</sup> But so repeated were the violations of both state law and city ordinance, that in 1840 the Grand Jury of Wilkes County presented this as a major grievance. Slaves were operating trading shops for themselves, which places, in the minds of the jurors, “are generally depositories of corruption and the council rooms of iniquity.” They had discovered that in the immediate community there were a number of establishments conducted entirely by slaves “that constantly traffic on the produce of our country.”<sup>38</sup> In 1854

<sup>35</sup> *Records of Muscogee County*, Book of Wills, A.

<sup>36</sup> Prince, *Digest* (1837), 788; Cobb, *Digest*, 984. The cities of Augusta, Savannah, and the town of Sunbury excepted.

<sup>37</sup> *Town Records of Washington, Georgia*, 1830.

<sup>38</sup> *Records of Wilkes County*, Minutes of the Superior Court, 1840-1842, Feb. Term, 20-21. Also see p. 109.



the corporate authorities of the city of Marietta legislated on the subject and thereby brought uneasiness and dissatisfaction to more than one slave.<sup>39</sup>

An effort was made by the legislature in 1850 to tax out of existence this undesirable class. A tax of \$150 was placed on all nominal slaves, and a tax of \$100 on slaves hiring their time.<sup>40</sup> Porters and laborers working under the ordinances of Savannah were excepted. This act failed of enforcement, for in his annual report to the legislature the comptroller made the statement that the penalties "are not and never have been carried out heretofore, and only partially carried out this year (1851) and that they need amendment, and ought to be more explicit and stringent, or they ought to be repealed. But two nominal slaves, and three slaves hiring their time have been returned this year, while there is little doubt but that there are hundreds of nominal slaves in the State, that would pay the usual free negro tax of \$5 or a little more were they so taxed."<sup>41</sup>

While owners and guardians of slaves saw little objection to this practice, for oftentimes it relieved them of an irksome responsibility, there were many others who did. It was for this latter group that the editor of the *Southern Watchman*, April 20, 1859, spoke. He stated that there were more slaves enjoying virtual freedom in the town of Athens than there were *bona fide* free Negroes in any ten counties in the district. "Everyone who is at all acquainted with the character of the slave race knows that they have great ideas of liberty, and in order to get the enjoyment of it they make large offers for their time," he wrote. And, he added, "everyone who knows anything of the negro knows that he won't work unless he is obliged to. . . . The negroes thus set free, in nine cases out of ten, idles away half his time or gambles away what he does make, and then relies on his ingenuity in stealing to meet the demands pay day inevitably brings forth; and this is the way our towns are converted into dens of rogues and thieves."

The editor of the *Augusta Chronicle*, Oct. 16, 1851, had already offered an explanation for such statements. The clamor against this class was not intended, he stated, so much to guard against theft and insurrection as to diminish the competition of slaves with white

<sup>39</sup> Letter, Andrew J. Hansell to Farish Carter, Feb. 17, 1854, MS in private possession.

<sup>40</sup> Cobb, *Digest*, 1080.

<sup>41</sup> *Annual Report of the Comptroller General of the State of Georgia*, 1851.



mechanics. Negro mechanics moving about the State supplied that flexibility of labor that slavery did not, while lower standards of living enabled them to work for less than the whites. From 1848 to 1860 the complaint of white laborers, especially in Atlanta, Macon, Rome, and Columbus, was persistent.

In addition to the above methods of increasing the free Negro class was one other, little used in Georgia. The method of freeing slaves by deed of gift was void under the law of 1801, which does not seem to have been changed during the entire period. The slave states of the upper South, in contrast, freed many slaves in this manner. In Maryland slaves were also set free by "word of mouth" and furnished with certificates to that effect.

Prior to 1790 statistics are rare and unreliable. In the population totals only Negroes are listed, including, presumably, the free Negro element. The Census of 1790 reported a population of 43,284 whites, 29,264 slaves, and 398 free Negroes.<sup>42</sup> In 1826 the number of free Negroes had reached 1,766,<sup>43</sup> and in 1850, 2,931,<sup>44</sup> while in 1860 the number was 3,500.<sup>45</sup> In the counties where large towns were located the density of the free Negro population is noted. Likewise the seaport towns, Savannah and Brunswick, had a large number. In 1857 the counties of Chatham, McIntosh, Burke, Columbia, Richmond, and Muscogee had well over one third of the free colored population.<sup>46</sup>

The low regard in which the Negro was held is likewise seen in his status as defined by law. The *Code of 1861*<sup>47</sup> defined as Negroes all persons "having one-eighth or more, of African or negro blood in their veins," while it also stated that the status of every person in the State, upon the question of freedom, was determined by the status of his or her mother. Moreover, the free Negro was given no rights of citizenship, and was entitled to none unless specially given by law. "His status differs from that of a slave in this: no master having dominion over him he is entitled to the free use of his labor, liberty, and property, except so far as he is restrained by law."<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the *Code* stipulated, all laws enacted in

<sup>42</sup> *A Century of Population Growth.*

<sup>43</sup> *Map of North and South Carolina, and Georgia, 1826.*

<sup>44</sup> *Census of 1850, Population.*

<sup>45</sup> *Census of 1860, Population.*

<sup>46</sup> *Report of the Comptroller, 1857.*

<sup>47</sup> R. H. Clark, T. R. R. Cobb, D. Irwin, *Code of Georgia, 1861*, 15.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 321.



reference to slaves, "and in their nature applicable to free persons of color, shall be construed to include them, unless specially excepted."

Tried under the same laws as slaves, free Negroes were likewise brought before the same tribunals for the administration of justice. Prior to 1850 <sup>49</sup> all capital crimes were tried in the Inferior Courts of the counties, where, before three justices, two freeholders, and a jury of twelve, the cases were decided. Because the justices of the Inferior Courts lacked the necessary legal knowledge, the jurisdiction of capital crimes was transferred to the Superior Courts, where more highly trained men might pass upon such vital questions.

Every effort was made to keep this class under the surveillance of the legal authorities. The act of 1818 required that all free persons of color be registered annually by the clerk of the inferior court, for which a fee of fifty cents was charged; obtain a certificate of freedom; and select some white man as a guardian.<sup>50</sup> In the event a Negro could not present a certificate, the presumption was that he was a slave. Similar to that of the slave, the domicile of the free Negro was that of his guardian,<sup>51</sup> although this provision was constantly violated. While the expected protection as to life and, to a less degree, liberty, was afforded by law, free Negroes were hedged in by numerous restrictions. They were liable to labor on public works not over twenty days in one year;<sup>52</sup> they were specifically forbidden to acquire title to the use of any slaves or real estate in their own name, or to transfer such by any written instrument, or otherwise; they were not to be taught to read and write; in trials their testimony was not allowed against a white person; and certain occupations were closed to them. Crimes for which a free Negro might pay the supreme penalty were the same as those for slaves, namely: insurrection, or an attempt to incite an insurrection; rape or attempted rape upon a free white person; murder of a white person, a slave, or free Negro; poisoning any human being; assault with intent to murder, or with a weapon likely to produce death; maiming a white person; burglary; and arson.<sup>53</sup>

Town regulations of free Negroes attained a higher ideal, but in many instances they fared little better than slaves. The city of

<sup>49</sup> Cobb, *Digest*, 1019.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 991. In 1849, 103 free negroes of Baldwin County selected the wealthy planter, Farish Carter, as their guardian. See *Tax Digest of Baldwin County*, 1849.

<sup>51</sup> *Code of 1861*, 329.

<sup>52</sup> Cobb, *Digest*, 993.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 995, Act of 1821.



Savannah, in 1822, required all free persons of color to labor for twenty days on public works, but the women were allowed to commute this to service in the city hospital.<sup>54</sup> An interesting item in the minutes of the council in 1818 reads as follows: "Resolved, That Charles Haley, George Carter, John Wilson, Belvie Colineance, Thomas Cox Scool, and John Cuthbert, free persons of color, may be enrolled and attached to the Chatham Artillery as Pioneers, and be exempted from Engine Duty."<sup>55</sup> Free Negroes were to obtain and wear a badge, costing \$10, to vend small wares, the penalty for violation being a \$20 fine, or a whipping, or both. No owner or keeper of a public store was permitted to employ a Negro unless he worked in the presence of the employer or a white person, the maximum fine being \$50 for each violation. Under no circumstances were they to keep a "common, Ill-governed, or disorderly house," to gamble, or play dice.<sup>56</sup> Negro assemblies were either forbidden or carefully supervised. Save for funerals or Sunday worship, not over seven Negroes could assemble for any purpose unless a white person was present. Schools for Negroes or instruction in reading and writing were unlawful under a \$100 penalty for each Negro so taught. This, of course, was to prevent the reading and circulation of incendiary literature.

A wave of fear following the news of race conflict produced stringent legislation; and as the wave receded, the laws, no longer enforced, were left upon the statute books. In 1795, for example, the city council of Savannah mentioned the situation in San Domingo and other French Islands, and the British West Indies. Pointing to the precautions already taken by South Carolina, the council felt some action imperative. They had heard that a vessel with one hundred Negroes from Kingston, lying at Cockspar, intended docking at Savannah. It was resolved that no Negro from that locality be allowed to cross the bar.<sup>57</sup> Some months later the council felt that night meetings of Negroes had been "productive of no good purpose," so black preachers were informed that no further congregations would be allowed.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Records of Savannah, Georgia*, Minutes of the Council, Oct. 1817-March, 1822, 221. Farish Carter, as their guardian. See *Tax Digest of Baldwin County*, 1849.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 1811-March 1818.

<sup>56</sup> *Revised Ordinances of Savannah, 1789-1853*, 369-378.

<sup>57</sup> *Records of Savannah*, Minutes of the Council, 1794-1796, 310.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 1808-1812, 253.



In 1824 the hilarity characterizing Negro socials called for additional regulation. "Riot and discord have frequently originated from permissions granted to persons of color to have dancing and making merry at night," so gatherings of this nature were restricted to Negroes having tickets from their guardians, but all must be at home by ten o'clock.<sup>59</sup> Finally, in 1850, the council seriously considered a memorial to the legislature asking for the banishment of all free Negroes from the State.<sup>60</sup>

The city ordinances of Augusta were characterized by a similar harshness. In 1843 free Negroes were forbidden to ride or drive about the city save on business, the maximum penalty being twenty-five lashes.<sup>61</sup> Nor were they allowed to carry canes, clubs, or sticks, unless blind, nor smoke in public places, attend military parades, hawk beer, cake, fruit, confectionery in the streets and alleys of the town, nor keep shops where these latter commodities were sold. Curfew sounded at 9:15, and all lights must be out by ten. In punishing infractions of these regulations, any two members of the council were empowered to act as a court, and the maximum penalty of thirty-nine lashes, five days in jail, or both, was specified. Corporal punishment and the jail sentence might be commuted for a fine of not over fifty dollars for each offence, provided the guardian of the offending Negro was willing to pay. These ordinances were typical of those of other Georgia towns.

An act of the legislature had empowered the justices of the inferior courts to bind out free Negroes between the ages of five and twenty-one, if, upon the statement of two or three white citizens, it was evident that they were "not being raised in a becoming and proper manner." But if Negroes so bound were sold into slavery the penalty was a \$5,000 fine and two to six years at hard labor, or both.<sup>62</sup> In 1795 the inferior court of Franklin County ordered that Jeremiah and David Anderson, free Negro children aged seven and nine respectively, be bound to Philemon Martin until the period pointed out for their liberation, and that Martin give them a "reasonable opportunity of learning to read."<sup>63</sup> Two years later John Anderson, presumably a member of the same family, one year of age,

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 1822-1825, 299.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 1848-1850, 260.

<sup>61</sup> *Ordinances of Augusta, Georgia, 1843.*

<sup>62</sup> *Acts of the General Assembly, 1853-1854, 105-106.*

<sup>63</sup> *Records of Franklin County, Minutes of the Inferior Court, 1794-1799.*



was bound to Moses Terrel Esq., until the age of twenty-one. Terrel gave bond for \$500 "to well use the child, Feed, Cloathe, and Educate him in the manner the law directs and not to suffer him to be carried out of the limits of the state." <sup>64</sup>

Because so many free colored persons were "roving about the country in idleness and dissipation," the legislature in 1808 extended the slave law to include all such persons.<sup>65</sup> Regardless of circumstances, the masters were to feed their servants, provide sufficient clothing and lodging. Ill-treatment by the master would result in the release of the servant. The main function of such Negroes was to do manual labor, usually in the capacity of house servants.

There was a possibility of free Negroes being returned to slavery. The act of 1818 forbade the entrance into the State of all free persons of color, with a few exceptions, fixing as the penalty a heavy fine or sale into slavery. This provision for sale was repealed in 1824, but reënacted in 1859 with only seamen excepted, and the unvarying penalty of sale into life servitude. A supplementary act of 1859 directed that vagrant Negroes be sold as slaves for a definite period for the first offence, and for life upon a second offence.<sup>66</sup> This action was the result, of course, of John Brown's attempt to incite an insurrection.

In 1853, Howell Cobb was the recipient of a pathetic letter from Charles Covey, a free Negro formerly residing in Milledgeville, who had been illegally sold into slavery. From "Boonvill Missouriia" came this woeful tale:<sup>67</sup>

Mr. Cobb Dear Sir I have Embrast this opportunity of Riting a few Lines to you to inform you that I am sold as a Slave for 14 hundred dolars By the man that came to you last may and told you a Pack of lies to get you to Sine the warrant that he Brought that warrant was a forged as I have heard them say when I was Coming to this Countrey and Sir I thought that I would write and see if I could get you to do any thing for me in the way of Getting me my freedom Back a Gain. if I had some Papers from the Clarkes office in the City of Milledgeville and a little Good advice in a Letter from you or any kind friend that I could get my freedom a Gain and my name can Be found on the Books of the Clarkes office. Mr. Bozal Stulers was Clarke when I was

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 1797.

<sup>65</sup> Cobb, *Digest*, 985.

<sup>66</sup> Lamar, *Compilation*, 611; *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1859, 68-69.

<sup>67</sup> Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, 441-442.



thear last and Sir a most any man can City that I Charles Covey is lawfully a free man. . . . But at the same time I do not want you to say any thing about this to any one that may acquaint my Preasant master of these things as he would quickly sell me and there fore I do not want this known and the men that came after me Carried me to Mempears teneseee and after whipping me untill my Back was Raw from my rump to the Back of my neck sent me to this Place and sold me. Pleas to ancer this as soon as you Can and Sir as soon as I can get my time Back I will pay you all charges if you will Except of it yours in heast Charles Covey Borne and Raized in the City of Milledgeville and a Blacksmith by trade and James Rethearfurd in the City of Macon is my Laller (lawyer?) and can tell you all about these things.

Some years before this, in 1846, Samuel Thompson, a free Negro, twenty-five years of age, "fraudulently and illegally" held in bondage by James Jones of Houston County, was freed upon petition to the justices of the inferior court of that county. Thompson was born of a free mother in North Carolina and had never been a slave.<sup>68</sup>

An interesting case at point came before the Supreme Court in 1858. Giles Price, a Negro blacksmith, had been purchased by a certain Cox for the sum of \$1,800. Eighteen years before this date, as a free colored inhabitant of Maryland, Price had been sentenced by a court of that state to fifteen years servitude as punishment for a crime. Price had changed hands several times during this period, and now, in the possession of a Georgia citizen, claimed his freedom. This had been granted by the Superior Court of Thomas County, but appealed to the Supreme Court on the ground that a Negro could not sue for freedom. Judge McDonald, in rendering the decision of the court, held that there was "no statute bar to suits of freedom" and that the Negro was free.<sup>69</sup>

Strange to say, some few Negroes asked to be re-enslaved. The editor of the *Federal Union*, the leading paper in middle Georgia, rejoiced to learn that Elizabeth Bickley, a free colored girl about twenty-two years of age, had voluntarily gone into slavery. She was purchased by Capt. Samuel Skinner, sheriff of Abingdon County, South Carolina. The woman was described as "very intelligent, and

<sup>68</sup> Cobb, Howell, *Analysis of Georgia Laws*, 543.

<sup>69</sup> *Ponder vs. Cox*, 26 Georgia 485.



was full aware that a kind master was better than she was herself," while the editor joyfully added, "this is a nut for Yankee philosophers to crack."<sup>70</sup> On the eve of the Civil War Jane Miller, a free woman of color, voluntarily became the slave for life to E. S. Louis, of Clarke County. "The sole consideration for which voluntary enslavement on her part shall be the obligation thereby incurred by her master of feeding, clothing, and protecting her." The act of the legislature further provided that she must not be sold.<sup>71</sup>

There is yet another instance of a free Georgia Negro preferring slavery. In 1864 John Sexton, of Habersham County, petitioned the justices of the inferior court to be allowed to sell himself into slavery. He believed, according to his petition, "that people of his color are more happy, more sure of support and more especially believing that he can better secure his wife and children a competent maintainance in a state of slavery." He was sold to William H. Fuller for the sum of five hundred dollars.<sup>72</sup> The very fact that these incidents received so much attention indicates that they were most unusual.

The court records extant do not justify the opinion held with regard to the criminal propensities of the free Negroes. Cases involving them appear quite infrequently on the dockets, and even then they deal with minor offences. Personally I have been unable to find a single instance of a proven crime committed by a free Negro for which the death penalty might be exacted.

Throughout the period free Negroes were taxed as polls by state and local authorities. In 1850 a poll tax of five dollars was levied on those between the ages of eighteen and fifty, while white males between the ages of twenty-one and sixty paid twenty-five cents each.<sup>73</sup> Local taxation was heavier. For example, in 1859 free Negroes in Atlanta were required to pay \$200 each to the clerk of the council within ten days after their arrival. Failure would result in arrest and hire at public auction.<sup>74</sup> The motive, of course, was to discourage Negroes from making Atlanta their residence. In Savannah free Negroes paid a tax of \$10 if engaged in any trade, while others, between the ages of sixteen and forty-five, paid \$6.25

<sup>70</sup> Dated Oct. 6, 1857, and quoted in *Plantation and Frontier Documents*, II, 162.

<sup>71</sup> *Acts of the General Assembly, Extra Session, 1862-1863*, 95.

<sup>72</sup> Phillips, "Georgia Local Archives," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1904, 577.

<sup>73</sup> *Acts of the General Assembly, 1849-1850*, 376 ff.

<sup>74</sup> J. H. Martin, *Atlanta and its Builders*, I, 145, quoting the Minutes of the City Council



each. Non-residents, fourteen to sixty, paid \$100.<sup>75</sup> In 1830 the town of Milledgeville levied a tax of \$16 on all free Negroes, between fifteen and sixty, who lived apart from their guardians, while others, ten to fifteen years of age, paid \$6.00.<sup>76</sup> Two years later the tax was reduced to \$5.00 for the former, and \$1.50 for the latter. But justice was often tempered with mercy, as in the case where the grand jury of Franklin County, in 1852, recommended to the inferior court that Letty Foish, a free woman of color, be exempt from taxation because of her affliction.<sup>77</sup>

The idea that the Negro was essentially an inferior, degraded, lazy, and imprudent person automatically excluded him from many professions. Others were closed to him because of the fear that such positions might offer opportunities for the distribution of incendiary literature.<sup>78</sup> They were forbidden to work in drug stores in the capacity of clerks, or in any capacity to handle medicines unless personally supervised by a white man.<sup>79</sup> But in other trades they flourished. The census of Savannah in 1840 shows the following distribution:<sup>80</sup>

Mechanics .....	34 free Negroes.....	73 slaves	107
Butchers .....	2 " " .....	5 " "	7
Barbers .....	5 " " .....	1 " "	6
Engineers and pilots.....	2 " " .....	4 " "	6
Preachers .....		3 " "	3

In 1860 the free Negro mechanics had increased to 86. In Milledgeville in 1832, sixteen free Negroes were listed, twelve of whom were working. Two were cooks, three farmers, two blacksmiths, three washers, one barber, and one seamstress.<sup>81</sup> In Washington, Wilkes County, Ned, a free Negro, kept an "eating establishment," while Reuben was a shoemaker, and Ben kept a stable.<sup>82</sup>

The most complete list of Negro occupations is in a census prepared by the clerk of the inferior court of Richmond County in

<sup>75</sup> *Revised Ordinances of Savannah, 1858*, 174.

<sup>76</sup> *Southern Recorder*, Feb. 27, 1830, and March 1, 1832.

<sup>77</sup> *Records of Franklin County*, Minutes of the Superior Court, 1846-1857. Presentments of Grand Jury, March Term, 1852.

<sup>78</sup> *Acts of the General Assembly, 1819*, 175. Printing offices, etc.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 1835, 268.

<sup>80</sup> Bancroft, *Census of Savannah*, 13, 42.

<sup>81</sup> *Southern Recorder*, March 15, 1832. Also see *Register of Free Persons of Color, Hancock County, 1855-1859*.

<sup>82</sup> *Records of the Town of Washington, Georgia, 1841*.



1819. A total of one hundred and ninety-four free Negroes were listed, each with his occupation. Fifty-one children and five adults were unoccupied, leaving one hundred and thirty-eight engaged in work of some sort. Of this number, twenty-nine were engaged in sewing; twenty-six in washing; thirteen in boating; eleven in spinning and weaving; eight were house servants; seven were laborers; two each were saddlers, draymen, waggoners, and "sewers-washers"; one each was engaged in the capacity of boat corker, barber, pilot of a steamboat, boatman, sawyer, washer and cook, gardner, market hand, sexton, blacksmith, farmer, harness-maker, ostler, waiting-man, and millwright.<sup>83</sup> Four of these were born in San Domingo, two in Africa, and one in Guinea—the rest were born in the United States, mostly Georgia. In Burke County in 1819, of the sixty-five free Negroes listed, forty-five were occupied in some way. The unusual occupations noted were a hatter, a baker, a tailor, and a mid-wife.<sup>84</sup> A petition from certain white citizens of Atlanta shows their feeling toward Negroes in certain professions: "We feel aggrieved as Southern citizens, that your honorable body [the city council] tolerates a Negro dentist, Roderick Badger, in our midst, and in justice to ourselves and the community, it ought to be abated. . . . We the residents of Atlanta, appeal to you for justice."<sup>85</sup>

Although free Negroes could not hold property in their own name, they could through their white guardians required by law. It is surprising to note that many owned slaves. In 1826, out of one hundred and eighty-four free Negroes in Chatham County, sixty-seven owned property. Of this number, twenty-five owned from one to fifteen slaves each. A Negro named Anthony Oddingsells owned two hundred acres of land and fifteen slaves; John Gibbons, a small lot valued at \$500 and five slaves; Polly Spein, two lots, valued at \$1,000 and five slaves; Susannah Jackson, three lots worth \$2,200 and four slaves; Hannah Leron, one \$600 lot and nine slaves; Andrew Marshall, property in Savannah valued at \$3,400 and one slave, a gig, etc.<sup>86</sup> In 1830, free Negroes held small parcels of slaves in thirteen counties, the largest single unit being twenty-five.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Phillips, "Georgia Local Archives," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1905, 585-589.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 590-591.

<sup>85</sup> Martin, *op. cit.*, I, 445.

<sup>86</sup> *Tax Digest of Chatham County, 1826*. Also see that of 1834.

<sup>87</sup> Carter Woodson, *Free Negro Owners of Slaves*, 3-4.



Joseph Henry Lumpkin, Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, in 1853 rendered the classic opinion on the legal status of the free Negro. In the Superior Court of Houston County, action had been brought by Hugh Walton, administrator for Joseph Nunez, a free Negro who had died without descendants, to recover certain slaves in the possession of Seaborn C. Bryan, but charged as being a part of the estate of Nunez, inherited from James Nunez, his father. Because of its importance, Lumpkin's remarks deserve a lengthy quotation:<sup>88</sup>

Can a free person of color in Georgia dispose of slaves by deed of gift? This is a grave question. It involves a great principle; it establishes an important precedent; it must be determined upon reason and argument; it is without authority, so far as my researches extended. . . . Counsel for Mr. Bryan contends that free persons of color in this State are entitled to all the rights and may exercise all the powers and privileges of free white citizens, unless restricted by statute; and that no law of the land having deprived this class of persons of the *jus disponendi*; that it is attached necessarily, as an incident to the ownership of *jus tenendi*. Whereas, we maintain, that the status of the African in Georgia, whether bond or free, is such that he has no civil, social, or political rights whatever, except such as are bestowed on him by statute; that he can neither contract, nor be contracted with; that the free negro can act only by and through his guardian; that he is in a condition of perpetual pupillage or wardship; and that this condition he can never change by his own volition. It can only be done by Legislation.

That the act of manumission confers no other right but that of freedom from the dominion of the master and the limited liberty of locomotion; that it does not and cannot confer citizenship; that the social and civil degradation resulting from the taint of blood adheres to the descendants of Ham in this country, like the poisoned tunic of Nessus; that nothing but an Act of the Assembly can purify by the salt of its grace, the bitter fountain—the *darkling sea*.

Lumpkin wished he could digress and sketch slavery from its origins to that moment. But judges had been criticized for long opinions, although speeches of governors, congressmen, and presidents, he ironically observed, were measured "by the ell instead of the inch."

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<sup>88</sup> *Bryan vs. Walton*, 14 Ga. 185.



He continued :

I would remark, that it will be found, on examination, that the condition of the African race is different in every State; and is less favorable in the extreme Southern, than in the more Northern Slave States; and that consequently, whenever a question is made relative to a free person of color, we must have recourse mainly to such principles as are dictated by the peculiar genius of our people and policy.

No correct analogy could be drawn between the status of a villein and that of the free Negro, Lumpkin stated.

To be civilly and politically free, to be the peer and equal of the white man—to enjoy the offices, trusts, and privileges our institutions confer on the white man, is not now, never has been, and never will be, the condition of this degraded race.

Our ancestors settled this State when a mere province, as a community of white men, professing the Christian religion, and possessing an equality of rights and privileges. The blacks were introduced into it, as a race of Pagan Slaves. The prejudice, if it can be called such, of caste, is unconquerable. It was so at the beginning. It has come down to our day. The suspicion of taint, even, sinks the subject of it below the common level. Is it to be credited, that parity of rank would be allowed to such a race?

Under no conditions, therefore, could the free Negro be considered a citizen, he held. “He resides among us, and yet is a stranger. A *native* even, and yet not a citizen. Though not a slave, yet he is not free. Protected by law, yet enjoying none of the immunities of freedom. Though not in a condition of chattelhood, yet constantly exposed to it.” “The great principle of self-preservation demands, on the part of the white population, unceasing vigilance and firmness, as well as uniform kindness, justice, and humanity.” Everywhere the Negro was discriminated against. “He lives among us without motive and without hope,” stated Lumpkin in a pessimistic vein. “His fancied freedom is all a delusion. We doubt the propriety of ejecting our free negroes upon the free states.” Such a situation would only add to the strength of those commonwealths, he felt.

Despite this low regard, some free Negroes rose to prominence because of their industry and character. Among these was a certain Gower, a Negro physician of Lexington. He had received his train-



ing in a northern college, and in 1805 was practicing in Georgia. From his office and lodgings in the local hotel he moved about the county, practising with great skill, and performing the most difficult and delicate operations. Because of this skill he became the partner of a white doctor, Phillips. Later, however, because of unfortunate relations between Gower and the wife of a foreign merchant residing in Lexington, race prejudice re-asserted itself; and Gower fled the county before a mob, finally locating in the North.<sup>89</sup>

Another prominent Negro was Austin Dabney, a mulatto, who had served with great honor and bravery in the Revolution. By a special act of the legislature Dabney acquired a farm near Milledgeville. Whenever his favorite judge, Dooly, held court in that section, Dabney was a welcome member of the circle of chatting lawyers who congregated at the tavern. Once, en route to Savannah to draw his pension, Dabney was dragged from his horse by the governor and made a guest in his home.<sup>90</sup>

Reverend Wilkes Flagg, a well-known figure in Milledgeville, had a most interesting career. Born in Virginia in 1802, he had been brought to Georgia and sold to the Fort family. He was taught to read and write by members of that family, and so skilful did he become at blacksmithing that he accumulated money enough to purchase his own freedom and that of his wife and child. He owned his home and shop, and at the outbreak of the Civil War had saved some \$25,000, which he loaned from time to time to reliable whites. Flagg was copper-colored, stood over six feet and weighed 180 pounds. He was a Democrat, a Baptist preacher, and an Abolitionist; but, strange to say, this trinity of "evils" did not render him unpopular. Quite frequently he would discuss questions with his former owner, Dr. Tomlinson Fort, and members of the family. On such occasions Flagg would always stand, hat in hand, never in the least presuming. Mrs. Fort wrote that "He was one of the best bred men and one of the most accomplished of house servants, and for years had charge of nearly every State Dinner given by the Governors of Georgia from Lumpkin to Brown." When Sherman made his memorable excursion through this section of the State, all the silverware and jewelry of

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<sup>89</sup> Paschal, *Ninety-Four Years*, 65-66.

<sup>90</sup> Gilmer, *Sketches of Early Settlers*, 212-215.



the Forts was placed in Flagg's care. He carefully buried the treasure, and, although strung up by his thumbs, refused to reveal to the soldiers the hiding-place. Before his death, some years after the War, Flagg told Mrs. Fort that his latter years of experience with Negroes had caused him to change his mind on the subject of abolition. It was his conviction that they were in no condition to be freed and elevated to the rank of citizens. Moreover, he feared they would be unable to resist "race prejudice" in their fight for economic opportunity, unless they lived with the white people who had reared them.<sup>91</sup>

One of the most highly respected residents of the city of Macon was Solomon Humphries, born some time in the latter eighteenth century, and one of the first settlers of the city. From a humble beginning, "by his probity, industry, and gentle manners," he had grown wealthy in conducting a mercantile establishment on the east side of the Ocmulgee River. He had purchased his own freedom, as well as that of his wife and father. Employing white clerks, he was highly successful in business. He was well-known in Charleston and Savannah and New York as a reliable merchant and had a credit of \$10,000. Although frequently entertaining his white friends, he never ate at the same table with them, but stood by and engaged in the conversation. "Free Sol," as he was known, was modest and retiring, and all too trusting of his white friends. It is said that his white clerks speculated with funds in their keeping to such an extent that Humphries lost most of his property before his death. By resolution of the city council, Macon observed a day of mourning when this respected resident died, while Rev. Robert L. Buck, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, conducted the funeral. The merchants of the city marched in a body to the last resting place of Solomon Humphries.<sup>92</sup>

The course of action of the whites, explained by their general philosophy of slavery and their regard for the inferior race, together with the personal qualities of the Negro, was responsible for the condition of the free Negro. The ignorance of the Negroes left them

<sup>91</sup> Fort, *The Fort and Fannin Families*, 221 ff. For an adverse opinion of Flagg, see a letter from Howell Cobb, 1866, printed in Brooks, *The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia*, 21-22.

<sup>92</sup> Butler, *Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia*, 209; Buckingham, *Slave States of America*, I, 211-212; Mrs. Anne Royal, *Mrs. Royal's Southern Tour*, II, 132-133; *Acts of the General Assembly 1834*, 231; *Macon Telegraph*, May 25, 1832, advertisement. "Just received from New York and Charleston, a large and handsome assortment of dry goods, groceries, hardware and cutlery, crockery, hats, shoes, bridles, saddles, linseed and lamp oil, iron, window glass, putty, salt, blacksmith's tools, etc."



with an extremely narrow view of life; their docility, innate or inculcated, inclined them to acquiesce in the arrangements made for them by the whites; lack of race training, moreover, left them wholly unfitted for endeavors that might result in distinctive achievements; appreciation of their own short-comings made submission to the stronger race a choice without alternative. These factors must be kept in mind in an effort to appreciate the lowly status of the free Negro.



# A BRITISH ORDERLY BOOK, 1780-1781

## III

Edited by A. R. NEWSOME

CAMP NEAR CAMDEN,

1<sup>st</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.

Parole,

C Sign,

The Troops will immedi<sup>y</sup>. receive of the Commiss<sup>ry</sup>. one pound flour & half a pound of Beef per Man to Comp<sup>t</sup>. them with prov<sup>ns</sup>. for this day. The Troops will remain on their present Ground tomor<sup>w</sup>. which time it is recommended to them to Employ in Cleaning & Repairing their Necessaries. One days fresh prov<sup>ns</sup>. & Rum will be Issued early to morrow Morn<sup>g</sup>: being to the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Instant inclusive.

*Morn<sup>g</sup>. Ord<sup>rs</sup>. 2<sup>nd</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781*

B G<sup>l</sup> O'Hara takes the Earliest opport<sup>y</sup> of informing the Corps now under his Com<sup>d</sup>. that the Waggons will be taken from the different Reg<sup>ts</sup>. this day, or the next, & as the Officers can be Allow'd no other Means of Conveying their Baggage, than on their Bat Horses, he begs leave to recommend it to them to use the present time in fitting up their Pack Saddles, & Sunks & Sods.<sup>61</sup> In order to reduce as much as possible the small detail of duties B. G<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara, is pleas'd to order the following regulation to take place.

### *Detail*

	Lance Corp <sup>ls</sup> .	Priv <sup>ts</sup> .
B. G. O Hara's G <sup>d</sup>	1	3
Q <sup>r</sup> Mr. Gen <sup>ls</sup>	1	3
Hospl	1	3
P M Genl	1	3
Forage	1	3
Cattle	1	3

The G<sup>ds</sup>. to be relieved at 3 oClock this day. Each Corps will relieve the G<sup>ds</sup>. they have respectively furnish<sup>d</sup>. agreeable to this Order. All Additional Waggons not Yet sent, to be deliver'd to the Q<sup>r</sup>. Mr. G<sup>ls</sup>. Department.

### *Brig<sup>de</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>. Orders.*

The Bat Mens Arms & Amm<sup>n</sup>. to be given up to Compleat those Men deficient by Accid<sup>ts</sup>. since the Brigade left Charles Town. The Com<sup>dg</sup>:

<sup>61</sup> A sunk was a seat of turf or a straw pad used as a cushion or saddle. A sod consisted of two pieces of turf used as a substitute for a saddle. The term was used to designate a rough kind of saddle made of cloth and stuffed with straw.



Offrs. of Batt<sup>ns</sup>. will direct the Offrs. Com<sup>dg</sup>. Comp<sup>ys</sup>. to make a Return of Necessaries that may be wanting to Comp<sup>t</sup>. & keep their Men so for three Months to Come, as the Movem<sup>ts</sup>. of the Army may render a Supply impossible, unless they are now order'd & directed to follow agreeable to the further orders of B: G<sup>l</sup>: O'Hara. A Return to be given of the deficiency of Slings<sup>62</sup> in the Brigade. A Gen<sup>l</sup>. Review of Arms, Acc<sup>tremts</sup>. Ammunition & Necessaries to be made this day at 3 o'Clock, & a report of the same made to B: G: O'Hara, tomorrow Morning.

CAMDEN

2<sup>nd</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781-

Parole,

C Sign, *Rawden*

All the Reg<sup>l</sup>. Wagg<sup>ns</sup>. will be deliv<sup>d</sup>. to the Q<sup>r</sup> Mr. Gen<sup>l</sup>. at 4 o'Clock this Even<sup>g</sup>. When the Army moves each Corps will receive a four Horse Waggon, which is intended for the Conveyance of their Medicine Chest, Sick Men, Forage, or any other Necessary purpose that the Reg<sup>t</sup>. Absolutely require; But on no Acc<sup>t</sup>. Whatever, any Offr. will put into these Waggons any Baggage or Parcels. Offrs. are desired to return the N<sup>o</sup>. of Horses they have immed<sup>y</sup>. Such Men as were left at Nelson's Ferry, when they Join will form a G<sup>d</sup>. to Such Baggage as may be Left behind at this place. The different Corps will apply for a Storeroom—at the Garrison, Headquarters-

*After Orders Six oClock at Night*

The Troops will receive one days fresh prov<sup>ns</sup>. Meal & Rum tomor<sup>w</sup>. morn<sup>g</sup>. at the foll<sup>g</sup>. Hours, being for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Inst inclusive (Viz<sup>t</sup>.): Brig<sup>de</sup> G<sup>ds</sup>. & Yagers at 7 oClock; Reg<sup>t</sup>. DeBose at 8; Artillery & Dept<sup>mts</sup>. at 9. Or<sup>dy</sup> Hour at 12 oClock to mor<sup>w</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>.

CAMP CAMDEN,

3<sup>rd</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Parole,

C Sign,

The Troops will receive, at 4 o'Clock this Even<sup>g</sup>: One days fresh prov<sup>ns</sup>. & Rum being to the 4<sup>th</sup>. Instant inclusive. The G<sup>ds</sup>. to be reliev'd at 3 oClock till further Orders, agreeable to former Orders. It having been Represented to the General that many Arms have been broke by the felling of Trees, & other Carelessness & inattention & render'd Unserviceable, the Com<sup>dg</sup>. Officers of Corps are desir'd to give particular directions on this head & to make the most severe example of these Men who do not preserve their Arms & Appointm<sup>ts</sup>. in Good order. All Expences in repairing which the Gen<sup>l</sup>. is pleas'd to order (unless damag'd in Actual Service) shall be paid by the Men. Any Men presuming to

<sup>62</sup> A leather strap attached to a gun, enabling it to be slung over the shoulder or on the arm.



fell a Tree Within the distance of 100 Y<sup>ds</sup>. of any G<sup>ds</sup>. Huts, or files of arms will be punish'd for disobedience of Orders.

*After Ord<sup>rs</sup>. 1 O'Clock 3<sup>rd</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1781*

The Reg<sup>ts</sup>. will Send two Drivers to the Q<sup>r</sup> Mr. Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Yard this day to receive the Waggons, mentioned in Yesterdays Orders, at 3 oClock.

*Brigade Orders*

A Court of Enquiry from the Brigade, Consisting of the Three Eldest Captains, to meet at the Presidents Tent at Three OClock this day, to Examine into a Charge Exhibited against Q<sup>r</sup> Mr Furnivall of the 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. by L<sup>t</sup> Col: Pennington Contain'd in his Letter to L<sup>t</sup> Col. Norton dated the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Instant- All parties will Attend.

L<sup>t</sup> Col: Stuart, Presid<sup>t</sup>:

L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup>. Hall } Members  
Lovelace }

L<sup>t</sup> Col. Pennington's Letter, together with L<sup>t</sup> Col Norton's Report, will be sent to the President.

CAMP NEAR CAMDEN,

4<sup>th</sup>. Jy. 1781

C Sign, *Bellfast*

The Hospital Guard is discontinued till further orders. These Reg<sup>ts</sup>. who have procured Stores in Garrison will Send Such things there as they can Issue as Soon as possible. One Days Fresh Provisions Meal & Rum will be Issued by the Commissary for the 5<sup>th</sup>. Inst<sup>t</sup>. Inclusive at four OClock this Afternoon.

CAMP NEAR CAMDEN,

5<sup>th</sup>. Jy. 1781.

C Sign, *Cumberland*

The Troops will receive one days Provisions & Rum at the Comm<sup>y</sup>. this afternoon at 4 oClock.

*Brigade Ord<sup>rs</sup>.*

A Reg<sup>l</sup>. return of All deficiencies & Such Accoutrements Pouches & S[1]ings as are Wanting to Comp<sup>t</sup>. in every Respect for Service, the Brigade must be given in by two oClock this day. L<sup>t</sup> Col Schutz having Obtain'd the Com<sup>dr</sup>. in Chief's leave to go to Europe on Acc<sup>t</sup>. of his health, L<sup>t</sup> Col Stuart is App<sup>d</sup>. to the Com<sup>d</sup>. of the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup> to whom L<sup>t</sup> Col Schutz will resign the Com<sup>d</sup>. at the head of the Batt<sup>n</sup>. this day at 3 o'Clock, the Officers are Expected to be there & take Post.



*Morning Orders Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup> 1781*Parole, *Chester*C Sign, *York*

The Troops will receive One days Prov<sup>ns</sup>. & Rum, being for the 7<sup>th</sup>. Instant inclusive, at the Usual Hour this Afternoon.

CAMP CAMDEN,  
6<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.

All the Waggon & Bat Horses of the different Corps, will be sent to the Q<sup>r</sup> Mr. Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Yard at Camden, from Whence they will proceed on a foraging party, to Cover Which the L<sup>t</sup> Inf<sup>ry</sup>. Compy of the G<sup>ds</sup>. under the Com<sup>d</sup>. of L<sup>t</sup> Col Hall, One Serg<sup>t</sup>. & 12 Yagers & one Sub<sup>n</sup>. & 15 of the Mounted York Volunteers, will Assemble as soon as possible at the above place.

CAMDEN,  
Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup>. 1781.

*Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslie's after Orders*

The Guards, Reg<sup>t</sup>. DeBose, Yagers & North Carolina Reg<sup>t</sup>. to be ready to March on the Shortest Notice. Those Corps to give in a Return of what Ammunition is wanting to Compleat to 60 Rounds per Man. For the future every Soldier is to Return the Balls before he can be served with Cartridges.

*Lord Cornwallis's Orders 27<sup>th</sup>. Sept<sup>r</sup> 1780*

Lord Cornwallis finds it necessary to repeat the Order for Marking all Negroes belonging to the Army, with the Number of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. or the Initial Letters of the Department that Employs them, & his Lordship desires that they may be Acquainted that the dep<sup>y</sup>. Prov<sup>t</sup>. Mar<sup>l</sup>: has directions to take up, & flog out of the Encampment all those who are not Mark'd agreeable to Orders.—The D: P: Marshal has likewise orders to Execute on the Spot any Negro Who is found quitting the Line of March in search of plunder.

No foraging parties are to bring Oats for their Horses, except the Gen<sup>l</sup>. Staff of the Army, & Cavalry—& the Com<sup>dg</sup>: Officers & Heads of Departm<sup>ts</sup>. are to be Answerable that these Orders & the former regulations respecting Horses, are most Strictly observed.

*30<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1780*

Capt Neil McArthur<sup>63</sup> is appointed to take the Paroles of People who Surrender themselves agreeable to the Proclam<sup>t</sup><sup>n</sup> of the 17<sup>th</sup>. Instant-

<sup>63</sup> Niel McArthur, a loyalist of North Carolina, whose property was confiscated. Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, II, 551.



4<sup>th</sup>. Octobr. 1780

Offrs. Comdg. pickets are to be Answerable that no parties are suffered to pass their Outposts without a Commissioned Officer or a Written passport.

L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis having Observ<sup>d</sup> that Carrion, or Offall of Cattle is in or near the Encampments, his L<sup>ds</sup>p requests the Comdg. Offrs. of Corps will pay a particular Attent<sup>n</sup>. to this matter, as it is not only Offensive but Unwholesome. L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis's Regulations to be Observ'd by the Troops of the Southern Army, Dated Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. Mount Zion, 30<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1780:

*Regulations for Horses &c<sup>a</sup>.*

Field Offrs. of Inf<sup>ry</sup>, Three Horses Each & those Comdg. Corps may have a Cart if they think proper; Capt<sup>ns</sup>, two Horses Each; Subalterns, Two; Adj<sup>ts</sup>. & Q<sup>r</sup> Masters, Two; Q<sup>r</sup> Mr. Serg<sup>t</sup>. & Serg<sup>t</sup>. Maj<sup>s</sup>, one Each. Ten Horses will be allow'd to Each Batt<sup>n</sup>. for the Use of such Women & Convalescents, as the Comdg. Offrs. shall think require them, & are deserving of them But should any Irregularity in Collecting Forage make this Indulgence a Screen for the Maintenance of More Horses than are Allow'd, it must Necessarily be Revers'd. All Horses except the Num<sup>rs</sup>. Allow'd are to be immediately sent away from the Army, or Dispos'd of.

L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis expects the Strictest Obedience will be paid to the Above Regulation; as not only the immediate Situation, but also the future Operations of the Army make it Indispensibly necessary—Comdg. Offrs. of Corps must therefore be responsible for the due Obedience of it.

L<sup>d</sup>. Cornwallis is desirous of giving every Convenience, & on that Acct. does not wish to Enforce the restriction relative to Negroes; but Comdg. Offrs. of Corps must be Responsible that none (excepting those allow'd for Reg<sup>l</sup> purposes) Attend their respective Batt<sup>ns</sup>. unless such as are in the particular Service of Some Offr. who will be Answerable for their Conduct.

CAMDEN,

7<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

C Sign, *Doncaster*

The Troops will receive one days prov<sup>ns</sup>. & Rum this day at the Usual hour & place, being for the 8<sup>th</sup> Inst. inclusive.

*Brig<sup>de</sup>. Orders*

All the Damag'd Cartridges & loose Balls to be immediately Collected by the Q<sup>r</sup> Master & given in to L<sup>t</sup> Laye Comdg. the Roy<sup>l</sup>. Artillery Camden, together with a demand of the deficiency of Cartridges to Compleat the Brigade to 40 Rounds p<sup>r</sup> Man. The Strictest Care must be taken not to waste any Ammunition to which the Officers are particularly desir'd to Attend, by frequent Inspections.



CAMDEN,  
8<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

C Sign, *Dublin*

The Provision Train & heavy Baggage of the Army to be ready to Cross the Ferry<sup>64</sup> this afternoon at 2 oClock as also the Guns & Detachm<sup>t</sup>. of Artillery. The Guards to find an Officer & 60 Men to take Charge of it. The Troops to receive this day at 12, o'Clock at the Commissary's Store four days Meal & Salt, being to the 12<sup>th</sup>. Inclusive & Rum for two Days being to the 10<sup>th</sup>. Inclusive.

The Army to be ready to March tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup> at break of day in the follg Order

Yagers	Brigade Guards
Pioneers	Waggon & Bat Horses
L <sup>t</sup> . Inf <sup>ry</sup> Guards,	North Carolina Reg <sup>t</sup> .
Grenad <sup>r</sup> d <sup>o</sup> .	Reg <sup>t</sup> DeBose
two Six pounders,	Under Officer & 15 Yagers

The Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose to find the Rear Guard of One Capt: one Sub: & 50 pr<sup>s</sup>. All followers of the Army to be in the Rear of the Baggage. It is recommended to the Off<sup>rs</sup>. & Departments to take all the Forage they can with them as none will be for the first two days March. Two days Short forage will be Issued by the Com<sup>ry</sup>. at his Store When Call'd for.

NB. The four Horse Waggon Attachd to the Reg<sup>ts</sup> & Corps will Cross the Ferry at Two O'Clock this day. The Reg<sup>t</sup> DeBose give the Prov<sup>t</sup> Forage, & Cattle G<sup>d</sup>. tomor<sup>w</sup> Morn<sup>g</sup> at the Ferry agreeable to former Detail.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup> 25 MILE CREEK,<sup>65</sup>  
9<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1780[1781]

C Sign, *Newcastle*

The Troops will march tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup> at the same hour as of this day agreeable to the Line of March of Yesterday. The Brig<sup>de</sup>. G<sup>ds</sup>. give the Rear Guard.

	Sub:	Serj:	Cor:	D:	P.
Prov <sup>n</sup> . G <sup>d</sup> . (N <sup>o</sup> CLina)—	1	-	1	-	16
P M G <sup>ls</sup> . G <sup>d</sup>			1	-	6
Gen Leslie's B G <sup>d</sup> .			1	-	6
Hosp <sup>l</sup> . Guard			1	-	6
Provost d <sup>o</sup>			1	-	6

} G<sup>ds</sup>. {

} Reg<sup>t</sup>: Bose {

<sup>64</sup> The ferry over the Wateree or Catawba River near Camden.

<sup>65</sup> A tributary of the Wateree River near Camden.



HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>.10<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.C Sign, *Cork*

The Troops will March tomor<sup>w</sup> Morn<sup>g</sup>. at the same hour & Line as this day. The Guards give the R<sup>r</sup> Guard.

	Off <sup>r</sup> .	S	C	-	Private
Prov <sup>n</sup> . G <sup>d</sup> (N C. Vol.	1	-	1	-	2 - 30
Gen <sup>l</sup> . Leslies { G <sup>ds</sup> . }			1	-	6
P. M Gen <sup>l</sup>			1	-	6
Hosp <sup>l</sup> (G <sup>ds</sup> .)			1	-	6
Cattle & Provost. (Reg <sup>t</sup> . DeBose			2	-	12

The Butchers of the different Corps will be ready to Slaughter the Cattle when they Arrives in Camp—The Troops will receive one Days provisions.

H: Q<sup>rs</sup>. ARMSTRONGS HOUSE,11<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

C Sign,

The Troops will March to Morrow Morn<sup>g</sup> at the same hour & Line as Usual. Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose the Rear Guard.

*Detail*

	S	-	C	-	D	-	P	-	Corps
Prov <sup>n</sup> . G <sup>d</sup> .	1	-	2	-	1	-	30	-	G <sup>ds</sup> .
Gen <sup>l</sup> Leslies	}								
P M Gen <sup>ls</sup> .			3	-		-	18	-	Reg <sup>t</sup> Bose
Hosp <sup>l</sup>									
Prov <sup>t</sup> & Cattle			2	-		-	12	-	N Carol: V

The Com<sup>ry</sup> will deliver upon the Troops taking up the ground, one days Meat & Rum being for this day inclusive. Also two days Ind<sup>n</sup>. Meal being to the 14<sup>th</sup> Inst: Inclusive.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. HARRISONS HOUSE,12<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.C Sign, *Halifax*

The Troops will March tomor<sup>w</sup>. morn<sup>g</sup> at the same hour & in the same line as of this day.



	<i>Detail</i>						
	Offr.	Ser.	C	D	P		
Prov <sup>n</sup> . Guard	1	-	1	-	2	-	1 - 30 - Reg <sup>t</sup> DeBose
Gen <sup>l</sup> . Leslie	.	-	.	-	1	-	. - 12
Pay Mr Gen <sup>ls</sup> .	.	-	.	-	1	-	. - 6
Hosp <sup>l</sup> . Cattle & Prov <sup>t</sup>	.	-	.	-	3	-	. - 18 - N Car. Reg <sup>t</sup> .
Total	1	-	1	-	7	-	1 - 66

The Commiss<sup>y</sup>: will Issue to the Troops, one Days Rum & Meat as soon as they come to their Ground, they will send their Butchers to receive the Cattle delivering first to those Corps that were serv'd last Yesterday—this to be Constantly attended to by the Com<sup>sy</sup>. for the future. The Com<sup>sy</sup>. of Prov<sup>ns</sup>. & forage to give in Exact returns of the Number of Rations drawn by each Corps as also of the different departments. A Return to be given in immed<sup>y</sup> of the Number of Negroes, Male & Female, attach'd to Each Corps and Departm<sup>ts</sup>. also the N<sup>o</sup>. of Horses, Specifying for Officers & those for Waggon. No Negroes to be permitted to follow the Army who do not Wear a Mark to distinguish the Corps they belong to.

The Q<sup>r</sup> Mr Gen<sup>l</sup>. or his Ass<sup>t</sup>. will form the Line of March in the foll<sup>g</sup>. Manner, when the Off<sup>rs</sup>. Com<sup>dg</sup>. the Baggage Guard will be Answerable for the Whole keeping in their proper places.

Pay Mr Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Waggon

Gen<sup>l</sup>. Officers

Prov<sup>n</sup> Train

Reg<sup>l</sup> Waggon

Bat Horses

Followers of the Army

Women of d<sup>o</sup>

} According to the line the Troops march in

The Prov<sup>t</sup> Martial to take up all Sold<sup>rs</sup>. &c<sup>a</sup> who may be at any distance from the Camp without a pass from the Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>rs</sup>. of a Corps.

#### *Brig<sup>de</sup> Orders*

The very great Scarcity of Forage having Oblig'd Gen<sup>l</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis to Regulate the N<sup>o</sup>. of horses in the Army agreeable to the Rank & Situat<sup>n</sup> of the differ<sup>t</sup>. Off<sup>rs</sup>. & that proportion having been published in the Orders of this detachm<sup>t</sup>.—A Return is immed<sup>y</sup> to be given in Specify<sup>g</sup> the Number Each Officer has now in his possession in order that the regulation may be Strictly attended to. The Ammunition of the Brig<sup>de</sup> to be immed<sup>y</sup> examin'd, & such as may be Wet or damag'd taken out of the Pouches & Dried on the Blank<sup>ts</sup> at a Considerable distance from any fire.—



WATEREE CREEK,<sup>66</sup>13<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

C Sign, Wakefield

The Troops will March tomor<sup>w</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup> at the Same hour & in the same order as of this day. Rear G<sup>d</sup>, Guards.

	Of	S	C	D	P.	
Prov <sup>n</sup> d <sup>o</sup>	1	-	1	-	2	- 1 - 30 N Car: Reg <sup>t</sup>
Gen <sup>l</sup> Leslies	1	-	1	-	.	- 12 } G <sup>ds</sup>
P M G <sup>l</sup>	1	-	.	-	6	}
Hosp <sup>l</sup> . Cattle & Prov <sup>t</sup>	3	-	.	-	18	Reg <sup>t</sup> DeBose

One days fresh Meat & Rum will be Issued to the Troops as soon as Slaughtered Also Salt for two days, being to the 14<sup>th</sup> Inst: Inclusive.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. SMITH'S HOUSE,14<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

C Sign, Bath

The Troops will March to mor<sup>w</sup>. Morning at the same hour, & in the same Line as Usual. The Brigade of Guards the rear Guard.

	S:	C:	D:	P		
Prov <sup>n</sup> G <sup>d</sup> .	1	-	2	-	30 Guards	
Gen <sup>l</sup> Leslies	1	-	1	-	. - 12	} Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose
Pay M <sup>r</sup> Gen <sup>ls</sup>	1	-	.	-	6	
Hosp <sup>l</sup> . Prov <sup>t</sup> . and Cattle	3	-	.	-	18	N Carolina Volunt <sup>r</sup>
Total	<hr/>					
	2:	7:	1:	66		

The Com<sup>ry</sup>. will Issue to the Troops When they come to their Ground Meat & Rum for this day inclusive.

*After Orders*

The Commissary will immediately Issue to the Troops two days Meal, being to the 16<sup>th</sup> Instant inclusive

## HEAD QUARTERS BURNS HOUSE,

15<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

The Troops will March tomorrow Morning at the same hour & Line as Usual. Reg<sup>t</sup>. De Bose, the Rear Guard

<sup>66</sup> A tributary of Wateree River near Wynnesborough.



*Detail*

Guards-	Offrs.	Serjt.	C.	D.	P	-	Corps
Prov <sup>n</sup> . G <sup>d</sup> .	1	-	1	-	2	-	1 - 30 - Regt De Bose
Gen <sup>l</sup> Leslie's		1	-	1	-	.	- 12 Guards
P. Mr Gen <sup>l</sup>				1	-	.	- 6
Hosp <sup>l</sup> . Cattle, & Prov <sup>t</sup>				3	-	.	- 18 N C Vol <sup>rs</sup> .
Total	1	-	2	-	7	-	1 - 66

The Com<sup>ry</sup>. will Issue to the Troops Rum Meat & Salt when they come to their Ground being for this day inclusive Also two days Meal being to the 18<sup>th</sup> Inclusive. The Different Off<sup>rs</sup>. Commanding Corps will post their own Picquets. F Offr for the Picq<sup>ts</sup>. this Night L<sup>t</sup> Col Norton. The first Batt<sup>n</sup> Guards will Cover & Assist in getting on the Waggon to Morrow.

*After Orders, 15<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781*

The Troops to be ready to March tomorrow morning at Three OClock.

*15<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781 8 oClock at Night*

The Troops are to March tomorrow Morning at Eight OClock. This is sent round in Consequence of the Generals Understanding that the Corps, Suppos'd the hour of March tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. at Three OClock in place of Eight.

SANDY RUN,<sup>67</sup>

16<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

C Sign, Chatham

The Troops to march tomorrow Morning at day break, in the same line & Order as of this day. Rear Guard, North Carolina Volunt<sup>rs</sup>.

Guards-	Off <sup>r</sup> .	Serj <sup>ts</sup> .	C:	D:	P:	Corps
Prov <sup>n</sup> . G <sup>d</sup> .	1	- 1	- 2	- 1	- 30	- N. C Vol <sup>rs</sup>
Gen <sup>l</sup> Leslies	.	1	- 1	- .	- 12	} Guards
P. M Gen <sup>l</sup> .	.	- .	- 1	- .	- 6	
Hosp <sup>l</sup> . Prov <sup>t</sup> & Cattle			- 3	- .	- 18	Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose
<hr/>						
Total	1	- 2	- 7	- 1	- 66	

F. Offr. for the Picq<sup>ts</sup>. Maj<sup>r</sup>. Du Puies. The Com<sup>ry</sup>. will Issue one days Meat & Rum to the Troops when they come to their Ground being for this day also Salt for three Days to the 18<sup>th</sup> Inst. Inclusive. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> G<sup>ds</sup>. will Cover & Assist in getting on the Waggon to Morrow.

<sup>67</sup> A tributary of the Congaree or Broad River.



16<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781*After Orders*

The Troops are not to leave their present Ground to Morrow.

*Morn<sup>g</sup>. Orders*17<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Two Serj<sup>ts</sup>. two Corp<sup>ls</sup>. & twenty five Men, with all the Bat Horses of the Brigade to parade immediately in the Front of the Brigade, & March to the Cattle Penn, where they will join the Detachments & Bat Horses from the Other Corps & proceed for Forage. It is recommended to the Officers Com<sup>dg</sup>. Corps, to prevent their Men as much as possible from Stragling from their Encampm<sup>ts</sup> As there are several parties of the Enemy hovering Round by some of Whom, three Officers were made prisoners, last Night.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. SANDY RUN,17<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781C Sign, *Dartmouth*.

The Troops to March tomor<sup>w</sup>. morn<sup>g</sup>. at day break. One Comp<sup>y</sup>. of the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup>. Guard, in front of the Guns. The Reg<sup>t</sup>. DeBose to Cover the Baggage, the North Carolina Reg<sup>t</sup> in the Rear of the Baggage, & the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. Guards in the Rear of the Whole.

*Detail*

Duties	Off <sup>r</sup> .	Serj <sup>ts</sup> .	C.	D	P.	Corps
Prov <sup>n</sup> G <sup>d</sup> .	.	1	-	2	- 1 - 30	
Gen <sup>l</sup> Leslie	.	-	.	-	1 - . - 6	N. Carolina Reg <sup>t</sup>
P M Gen <sup>ls</sup>	.	-	.	-	1 - . - 6	
Hosp <sup>l</sup> . Prov <sup>t</sup> . & Cattle			-	3	- . - 18	
<hr/>						
		1	-	7	- 1 - 60	Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose

F: Off<sup>r</sup> for the Picq<sup>ts</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Col: Stuart. The Commissary will Issue to the Troops one days Meat & Rum for this day, also one days Meal being to the 19<sup>th</sup>. Inst. Inclusive. A Non Commiss<sup>nd</sup>. Officer of Each Corps will March in front of the Several Bat Horses. The Bat Horses of the Guards & Yagers, will March in front of the Waggons, those of the Other Corps in the Rear.

*After Orders*

One days fresh Meat will be Issued to the Troops When sent for at the Cattle Penn being for the 18<sup>th</sup>. Inst. inclusive.



*Brigade Orders 1/2 past 4 O'clock*

One Serjt. one Corp<sup>l</sup>. & 25 Men per Compy With two first Officers for duty, will March immediately & occupy the Ground, from which the Grenad<sup>rs</sup>. March'd this Morn<sup>g</sup>. Officers for this duty Capt<sup>ns</sup> Schutz & Maitland. In Waiting Capt Horneck.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. HILLHOUSES PLANTATION,<sup>68</sup>

18<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Parole, *Portland*

C Sign, *Wight*

The Commissary Will Issue to the Troops Three days Meal to the 22<sup>nd</sup>. Instant Inclusive, & one days Rum for this day inclusive.

Mr Gen<sup>l</sup>. Leslie's G<sup>d</sup>.

0 - 1 - 6 } G<sup>ds</sup>

P : M : G<sup>ls</sup>.

0 - 1 - 6 }

The Troops under the Command of Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Leslie having join'd L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis,<sup>69</sup> all Orders to be receiv'd from the D: Adj<sup>t</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslie begs the Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>rs</sup>. of the different Reg<sup>ts</sup> which form'd his late Command will Accept his Sincerest thanks for the great Attention they have paid towards the regularity of their Corps. To the Officers & Soldiers of which his Warmest Acknowledgments are due for the Strictest adherence to Good Order and discipline.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. CAMP, HILLHOUSES PLANTATION,

18<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Earl Cornwallis's Orders 8 oClock at Night. The Army will be Ready to March in Column at Eight O'Clock to morrow morning in the following Order.

Yagers	Gen <sup>ls</sup> . Waggons
Corps of Pioneers	F. Off <sup>rs</sup> . do
2—Three Pounders	Ammunition Waggons
Brigade Guards—	Hosp <sup>l</sup> . d <sup>o</sup>
Reg <sup>t</sup> . De Bose	Regim <sup>ts</sup> . Waggons
North Carolina Volunteers	Provision Train,
Two—Six Pounders	Bat Horses,
L <sup>t</sup> Col. Websters Brigade	

A Capt: two Sub<sup>ns</sup>. & 100 Men from L<sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade will form a Rear Guard. -

<sup>68</sup> The remainder of the manuscript is printed in E. W. Caruthers, *Interesting Revolutionary Incidents*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 391-442, under the title, "Order-Book of Lord Cornwallis."

<sup>69</sup> The junction of the commands of Cornwallis and Leslie occurred near Turkey Creek in what is now York County, S. C., where Cornwallis had awaited Leslie. Cornwallis was 25 miles from Cowpens where Tarleton was defeated by Morgan on the 17th. Edward McCrady, *op. cit.*, 29; Tarleton, *History of the Campaigns of 1780-1781*, 218, 222.



HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. SMITH'S HOUSE,19<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 81Parole, *St. Albans*C Sign, *Leipstadt*

The Troops to be under Arms precisely at Two OClock, the Corps to march in the Same order as this day—The Off<sup>rs</sup>. Bat Horses May follow the Column. The Waggon<sup>s</sup> of the Army, without Exception will remain on the Road near Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslie's Q<sup>rs</sup>. Until day break, when they will Move, under the Escort of the Roy<sup>l</sup>. N<sup>o</sup> Carol<sup>a</sup>. Vol<sup>rs</sup>. Lt Col Hamilton<sup>70</sup> will receive his Orders from Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Leslie. The Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>rs</sup>. of the different Corps will Examine the best Communications with those on the Right, that there may be no delay, or improper Interval when the Line is Order'd to March. Cattle for two days will be sent on at Day Break, & follow the March of the Troops.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. SAUNDERS'S PLANTATION,20<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781Parole, *Gravesend*C Sign, *Windsor*

Any Off<sup>r</sup>. who shall observe a Break in the Line of March, will send forward to Acq<sup>t</sup>. Lord Cornwallis, or the Gen<sup>l</sup>. Officer at the Head of the Column, & Not pass the Word to Halt, as has been Sometimes practis'd—

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. after Orders*

The Troops will be in readiness to March at Seven OClock tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. in the foll<sup>g</sup>. Order.

Roy<sup>l</sup>. N. Carolina Vol<sup>rs</sup>.  
Two Three Pounders  
Lt Col Websters Brigade,  
Reg<sup>t</sup>. De Bose

Two Six Pounders,  
Brigade of Guards,  
Bat Horses,  
Waggon<sup>s</sup> as order'd before.

The Detachm<sup>t</sup>. of Pioneers und<sup>r</sup>. Lt. Brown, will follow the N Carolina Reg<sup>t</sup>. & the Pioneers of the different Reg<sup>ts</sup>. will March with the Prov<sup>n</sup>. Train.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>.,21<sup>st</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Parole,

C Sign, *Dover**After Orders*

The Undermentioned Corps will be in readiness to March at half past Six OClock to Morrow Morn<sup>g</sup> in the foll<sup>g</sup>. Order.

Lt Col: Tarleton's Corps  
Two Three Pounders,  
Brig<sup>de</sup>. Guards,

Two Six Pounders,  
Lt Col: Websters Brigade,

<sup>70</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel John Hamilton of the North Carolina Volunteers was one of the best of the loyalist officers. He had been in business in North Carolina and his entire property was confiscated. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 436.



The Bat Horses of the above Corps, will follow the Column, All Waggon & Carts are to remain behind, Except those particularly Order'd to go. A Detach<sup>mt</sup>. from the Brigade of Guards, will be Order'd by B. G. O'Hara & 1 Serjt. 3 Corp<sup>ls</sup>. & 150 private from L Col Webster's Brigade to remain with the Waggon. The Women of the different Corps are to remain behind with the Baggage Guards—

*Brigade Orders*

Serjeant Hunt, will be left to Command those men left behind when the Brigade Marches away to Morrow Morn<sup>g</sup>.

HEAD QUARTERS STISES PLANTATION,  
22<sup>nd</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781  
C Sign,

Parole,

The Troops to be readiness to March tomorrow Morning at Seven O'Clock in Order as follows.

L <sup>t</sup> Col Tarleton's Corps	Two Six Pounders,
Two Three Pounders,	Brigade of Guards,
L <sup>t</sup> Col Webster's Brigade	

The Bat Horses & Waggon will follow the Column.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. TRYON COURT HOUSE,<sup>71</sup>  
23<sup>rd</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1781

Parole,

C Sign,

Upon Sounding the Bugle Horn at ½ past Six O'Clock tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. the Bat Horses of the Army are to be Loaded & the Troops will be ready to March precisely at 7 o'Clock, in the following Order.

L <sup>t</sup> . Col Tarleton's Corps	Prov <sup>n</sup> . Waggon,
two, Three Pounders	Bat Horses of the Brig <sup>d</sup> . of
Brigade of Guards,	Guards.
two Six Pounders,	D <sup>o</sup> of L <sup>t</sup> Col. Webster's
L <sup>t</sup> Col. Websters Brigade	Brigade.

The Pioneers of the different Corps will March in front of the Guns.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup> RAMSOUR'S MILLS,<sup>72</sup>  
24<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1871

Parole, *Amsterdam*

C Sign, *Berwick*

When upon any Occasion the Troops may be Order'd to March without their Packs; it is not intended they Should leave their Camp Kettles and Tomahawks behind them.

<sup>71</sup> The county seat of Tryon County which was established in 1768 and divided into Lincoln and Rutherford counties in 1779.

<sup>72</sup> The stop at Ramsour's Mill from the 24th to the 27th inclusive was for the purposes of collecting flour and destroying all baggage and carriages except such as were necessary to a rapid pursuit of the Americans. Tarleton, *op. cit.*, 223, 261. Tarleton in his *History* and Cornwallis in his letter of March 17 to Germaine stated that the army was assembled at Ramsour's Mill on the 25th and halted two days. On the preceding June 20, a band of patriots had routed a larger band of Tories in a spirited skirmish at Ramsour's Mill. R. D. W. Connor, *Colonial-Revolutionary Periods*, 461.



Mem<sup>dm</sup>. Lord Cornwallis thinks it Necessary to repeat in Orders, Regulations respecting Negroes & Horses, & Commanding Officers of Brigades, as well as those of Corps must be responsible for the due observation of them.

	Horses - Negroes		
Field Off <sup>rs</sup> . of Inf <sup>ry</sup> .	3	-	2 Each
Capt <sup>ns</sup> . Sub <sup>ns</sup> . & Staff	2	-	1
Serj <sup>ts</sup> . Major, & Q <sup>r</sup> Mr Serj <sup>ts</sup> .	1	-	1

No Women or Negroe to possess a Horse.

*Brigade Orders, 24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781*

There being a Sufficient Quantity of Leather to Compleat the Brigade in Shoes, in this Village; It is recommended to, (and Expected) the Command<sup>g</sup>. Officers of Companies, see their Mens Shoes immediately Soled & Repaired, & if possible that every Man when they move from this Ground take in his Blankett one pair of Spare Soles, as the like opportunity may not happen for some time. Two Officers, Eight Non Commission'd Off<sup>rs</sup>. & 100 private from the Brigade to Parade Immediately in the Rear of the Guns, with all the Bat Horses of the Brigade and Artillery Horses of the Army to Forage for the Same. A proper Guide will Attend. Off<sup>rs</sup>. for the Above duty, Capt<sup>ns</sup>. Swanton & Eld.

*Brigade after Orders*

At one hour after day break, the Picq<sup>ts</sup>. Quarter & Rear Guards of the Brigade will be Call'd in that the Men may Clean & Wash themselves thoroughly.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. RAMSOURS MILLS,  
25<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 81

Parole,

C. Sign,

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. RAMSOURS MILLS,  
26<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Parole,

C. Sign,

Two days flour for the Off<sup>rs</sup>. & two days Meal for the Men to the 27<sup>th</sup>. Inst Inclusive will be Issued immediately.

Lord Cornwallis has great pleasure in Communicating to the Troops, the foll<sup>g</sup> Extract of a Letter from Lord Geo Germaine Dated 9<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1780.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> This is not an accurate extract. The letter is printed in *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, I, 290-293.



It is particularly pleasing to me to Obey his Majesty's Command by Signifying to Your Lordship His Royal pleasure that you do Acquaint the Officers & Soldiers of the brave Army under your Command that their behaviour on the Glorious 16th. of Augt. is highly approv'd of by their Sovereign & you will particularly Express to Lord Rawdon Lt Cols. Webster & Tarlton, his Majesty's approbation of their Judicious & Spirited Conduct, the latter has indeed a Double Claim to praise for his great Alertness in Overtaking & Destroying General Sumpter's detachment & thereby rendering the Victory at Camden Still More decisive.

His Majesty has been pleas'd to Appoint Capt Ross<sup>74</sup> Major in the Army by Brevett<sup>75</sup>

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. RAMSOURS MILL,  
27<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup> 81

A detachmt. of 2 Capt<sup>ns</sup>. 4 Sub<sup>ns</sup>. & 150 Rank & file are to parade as Soon as possible in front of Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslie's Q<sup>rs</sup>. to Cover the foragers of the different Corps.

*Detail*

	C:	Sub <sup>ns</sup> .	R & file
Guards	1	.	60
L <sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brig <sup>de</sup>		2	40
Reg <sup>t</sup> . De Bose & N C Vol <sup>rs</sup> .	1	2	50
Total	2	4	150

*Brig<sup>de</sup>. Orders 27<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>.*

An Exact Return to be given in of Such Sick Men as are Absolutely unable to March & a Return of Such Men as Are by Lameness bad Marchers, those Returns to be made out by Batt<sup>ns</sup> Immediately.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. RAMSOURS MILLS,  
27<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Parole,

C Sign,

The Com<sup>dg</sup>. Officers of the Different Corps to be Responsible that no more Horses are kept than the Number Allow'd by the Regulation in orders of the 12<sup>th</sup>. Instant. Those Corps who are in Want of Pick Axes will receive an Order for them by Applying to M G<sup>l</sup>. Leslie.

<sup>74</sup> Captain Alexander Ross, 1742-1827, military secretary and intimate friend of Cornwallis, was in the principal actions of the American Revolution. He was a commissioner to arrange the surrender of Yorktown. Afterwards he was adjutant-general in India, major-general in 1795, lieutenant-general in 1802, and general in 1812. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 454.

<sup>75</sup> A commission giving an officer higher nominal rank than that for which he receives pay; an honorary promotion.



*After Orders*

Ld. Cornwallis has order'd an Extra Gill of Rum to be Issued to the Troops Immediately. The Troops will receive two Days Meal tomor<sup>w</sup>. Morning at 7 O'Clock & be ready to Move at Nine.

Mem<sup>dm</sup>. If any Black Cloth is wanting to repair or Compleat the Men in Guetres,<sup>76</sup> it may be had of Maj<sup>r</sup>. England<sup>77</sup> at 7 oClock to Morrow morn<sup>g</sup>. near Head Q<sup>rs</sup>.

Hd. Q<sup>rs</sup>. RAMSOUR'S MILLS,  
28<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

The Army will March at 11 O'Clock in the following Order

Lt Col Tarlton's Corps & Yagers.	N Carolina Reg <sup>t</sup>
Corps of Pioneers	Two Six pounders
Two three Pounders	Brigade Guards
Lt Col Websters Brigade	Ammunition & Prov <sup>n</sup> Waggon
Two Six pounders	Gen <sup>l</sup> Off <sup>rs</sup> . Bat Horses
Reg <sup>t</sup> . De Bose	

The Bat Horses of the Army Will follow in the Same order as their respective Corps. Such Sick as are not able to March are to be Sent to the Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Guard immediately.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. BEETIES FORD,<sup>78</sup>  
28<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Parole, C Sign,

One Officer & 40 Men with the Bat horses to parade in the Road in front of the 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup> Guards in order to forage. The Officers of the different Corps will give Receipts for the forage they take.

CAMP NEAR BEETON'S FORD,<sup>79</sup>  
28<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Lord Cornwallis has so Often experienc'd the Zeal & good Will of the Troops that he has not the Smallest doubt that the Off<sup>rs</sup>. & Soldiers will most Cheerfully Submit to the Ill Conveniences Which must Naturally attend a War so remote from Water Carriage & the Magazines of the Army.

The Supply of Rum for a time Will be Absolutely impossible, & that of Meal very uncertain, to remedy the Latter it is recommend<sup>d</sup> either to bruise the Indian Corn or to Rasp it after it has been Soak'd. Lord

<sup>76</sup> Guetre is obsolete for gaiter, a covering of cloth or leather for the ankle or ankle and lower leg.

<sup>77</sup> Sir Richard England, appointed captain of the 47th regiment in 1770, major in 1781, and lieutenant-colonel of the 24th Foot in 1783. He was wounded at Bunker Hill and served with distinction throughout the war. At one time he was commandant of Detroit. He died in 1812. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 428.

<sup>78</sup> Beattie's Ford on the Catawba.

<sup>79</sup> Beattie's Ford.



Cornwallis is convince'd that the Troops believe, that he is ever Most anxiously Attentive to procure for them every Comfort that the Nature of the Service will admit of.—

As the Object of our March is to Assist & Support those Loyalist's in North Carolina, who have ever been distinguish'd by their Fidelity to their King & their Attachment to Great Britain. It is needless to point out to the Officers, the Necessity of preserving the Strictest discipline & of preventing those Oppress'd People from Suffering Violence by the Hands from whom they are taught to look for protection. To prevent the Total destruction of the Country, & the ruin of his Majestys Service, it is Necessary that the Regulation in regard to the Number of horses Should be Strictly Observ'd. Maj<sup>r</sup>. Genl Leslie will be pleas'd to require the most Exact Obedience to this Order from the Off<sup>rs</sup>. Com<sup>dg</sup>. Brigades & Corps, the Supernumerary Horses that may from time to time be discover'd will be Sent to Head Quarters.

H: Q<sup>rs</sup>. BOWER'S PLANTATION,  
28<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1781

*After Orders*

The Bat Horses are to be Loaded & the Troops in readiness to March precisely at Seven OClock to Morrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. in the foll<sup>g</sup>. Ord<sup>r</sup>

L <sup>t</sup> Col Tarleton's Corps,	North Carol: Volunteers.
Yagers	Two Six pounders
Two—Three pounders	L <sup>t</sup> Col. Websters Brigade,
Brig <sup>de</sup> Guards	Cattle for the Army
Two, Six pounders	Amm <sup>n</sup> . & Prov <sup>n</sup> . Waggon <sup>s</sup> ,
Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose	Bat Horses of Gen <sup>l</sup> . Officers

Ditto of Reg<sup>ts</sup>. in the same Order as of their different Corps.

CAMP,  
29<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

The Officers & Men may, by Sending to the Commissary receive any proportion of Salt (they can Conveniently carry with them) it is understood that the Men are Compleated for Twenty days.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. FAWNEYS PLANTATION,  
29<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

As the delivery of Prov<sup>ns</sup>. will probably be very Irregular the Reg<sup>ts</sup>. are in future to give Receipts to the Commissary, only for such prov<sup>ns</sup>. as they receive, instead of Receipts for Compleat Rations. The meat will in future be Issued by Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Booth & Stedman Commissaries of Capture, the other Articles by the Commissary Gen<sup>ls</sup>. Department. Com-



manding Officers of Corps are desir'd to Caution their Men against Stragling as two Soldiers were taken Yesterday very near the Encampm<sup>t</sup>.

CAMP,  
29<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Parole,

C Sign,

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders*

An Officer & forty Men with a proportion of Non Commission'd Off<sup>rs</sup>. will parade at 7 oClock tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. At the Artillery park to Cover the Foragers of the Brigade, the Artillery, & the Prov<sup>n</sup>. Train, who will Assemble at the same hour, a Serj<sup>t</sup> to be Sent at half past Six O'Clock to Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. for a Guide.

*Brigade Orders.*

As the Army will not move tomor<sup>w</sup>. Morning, it is Expected that the Men Wash, Clean, & Repair their Necessaries & that the Ammunition is properly Inspected & dried on the Mens Blankets in the Sun at a Distance from the fire & a Return per Batt<sup>n</sup>. given in of all Damagd Cart-ridges; the Brigade to be under Arms at four OClock in the Afternoon with all their appointments.

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders 30<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781*

One Officer & 50 private (with a proportion of Non Commission'd Off<sup>rs</sup>.) Will Parade immediately & proceed to Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. where they will receive farther Orders.

*B Orders*

When the Brigade Marches the Women, Sick, & Weakly Men, will March in the Rear of the Second Batt<sup>n</sup>. & in Case the Brigade Shoud be ordered forward—and they cant keep up—they will form a Guard to the Baggage, Packs, or what else May be left in their Charge.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. FAWNEYS PLANTATION,  
30<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

Parole, *Gibraltar*

C Sign, *Bergen*

No Sick are to be Carried on the Wag<sup>ns</sup>. Upon the March, unless it is Certif<sup>d</sup> by a Surgeon of the Hosp<sup>l</sup>. that they are not able to Walk, or Ride on horseback. Comd<sup>g</sup>. Officers of Corps will Apply to the Q Mr Gen<sup>l</sup>. for Horses to Carry Such Sick Men as are Unable to March, Which horses they will Return to him again as soon as they Arrive at their Ground Or Encampment.



HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. FAWNEYS PLANTATION,  
31<sup>st</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

*Orders*

The Bat Horses are to be Loaded & the Army in readiness to March precisely at 9 oClock in the following Order.

L <sup>t</sup> Col Tarleton's Corps	Reg <sup>t</sup> . of Bose,
Yagers	North Carolina Volunteers
Corps of Pioneers,	Two Six pounders,
Two Three Pounders,	Brigade of Guards
L <sup>t</sup> Col Webster's Brigade	Ammunition & Prov <sup>n</sup> Waggons
Two Six pounders,	Bat Horses of the Gen <sup>l</sup> . Off <sup>rs</sup> .

Bat Horses of the Reg<sup>ts</sup>. in the same Order as their respective Corps.

HEAD QUARTERS,  
31<sup>st</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

The Guards will relieve the Prov<sup>n</sup>. Guard & Gen<sup>l</sup>. Hosp<sup>l</sup>. ditto. No Railing to be burnt on any Ground Whatever but by Express permission.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>,  
31<sup>st</sup>. Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

The Army will be under Arms & ready to March to morrow morning at half past Two O'Clock in Two Columns; Maj<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Leslie will lead the First Column, Consisting of the foll<sup>g</sup>. Corps.

Brigade of Guards	Two Three Pounders
Reg <sup>t</sup> . De Bose.	23 <sup>rd</sup> . Reg <sup>t</sup> .
Half the Pioneers,	L <sup>t</sup> Col Tarlton's Corps

L<sup>t</sup> Col. Webster will give Orders respecting the other Column. The Waggon Horses are to be Harness'd & the Bat Horses Loaded ready to move at 1/2 past five O'Clock under the Escort of an Off<sup>r</sup>. of the N Carolina Reg<sup>t</sup>.

*Brigade Orders*

Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Furnival will be left in Charge of the Baggage, Sick, Convalescents & Women of the Brigade, & will apply at five O'Clock tomorrow morning to L<sup>t</sup> Col Hamilton Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>r</sup>. of the North Carolina Reg<sup>t</sup>. for other Instructions & will in every respect Consider himself as Responsable for this Charge, & for the Conduct of the Men under his Command. As the Surgeon & all the Mates will March with the Brigade, it is expectd proper Medicines & Dressings are left for the Sick with directions for the Same.

NB: Horses will be apply'd for by Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Furnival to the Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>. in proper time, for the Conveniency of the Sick.



HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. CROSS ROADS TO SALISBURY,1<sup>st</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781

Parole,

C Sign,

The Bat Horses are to be Loaded & the Army under Arms ready to March at half past 5 o'Clock tomorrow morn<sup>g</sup>. with the foll<sup>g</sup>. Order.

Lt Col Tarltons Corps

Yagers

Corps of Pioneers

2, 3 pounders,

Lt Col. Websters, Brigade,

2, 6 pounders,

Reg<sup>t</sup>. De Bose,

North Carolinians,

Two Six pounders,

Brigade of Guards,

Am<sup>n</sup>. & Prov<sup>n</sup>. Waggons,

Bat Horses as Usual.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. CANTHARD'S PLANTATION,2<sup>nd</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781

Parole,

C Sign,

*Orders*

Lord Cornwallis is highly displeas'd that Several Houses was set on fire during the March this day, a Disgrace to the Army; & that he will punish with the Utmost Severity any person or persons who shall be found Guilty of Committing so disgracefull an Outrage—His Lordship requests the Com<sup>dg</sup>. Officers of Corps will Endeavour to find out the Persons who set fire to the Houses this day.

The Bat Horses to be Loaded & the Army ready to March at 7 o'clock in the Morn<sup>g</sup>.—At five OClock the Corps will give in the Balls of the damag'd Cartridges & receive Sufficient to Compleat them to 40 rounds per Man.

*After Orders 2<sup>nd</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781*

The Troops to march tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. in the following Order

Cavalry

2, 6 pounders

Jagers

Reg<sup>t</sup>. De Bose

Two Three Pounders.

2, 6 pounders

Brig<sup>de</sup>. Guards

Lt. Col Websters Brigade.

The Bat Horses to follow the Infantry, an Off<sup>r</sup>. & 30 Men from Lt Col. Websters Brigade to March in the Rear of the Brigade Bat Horses. The Wheel Carriages of the Army will follow the Line of March with all Convenient Expedition under the Escort of Lt Col Hamilton's Reg<sup>t</sup>. & a Detachm<sup>t</sup> of one Off<sup>r</sup>. & 20 Men from the three Batt<sup>ns</sup>. of Lt Col Webster's Brigade, 20 men from the Brigade of Guards & an Off<sup>r</sup>. & 20 men from the Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose this detachm<sup>t</sup>. to be commanded by a Capt<sup>n</sup>. of L Col Webster's Brigade—The respective Corps are to Send Serviceable Men on this Service, but not the best Marchers.



CAMP AT COSSINGTON,  
2nd. Febr'y. 1781

*After Orders*

Lord Cornwallis desires the Brigade of Guards will Accept his Warmest acknowledgments for the Cool & Determin'd Bravery which the shew'd at the Passage of the Catabau, when rushing through that long and Difficult Ford under a Gallig Fire without returning a Shot, give him a most pleasing prospect of what may be expected from that distinguish'd Corps. The Spirited behaviour of L<sup>t</sup> Col Tarlton & the Offrs. & Soldiers of the British Legion at the Attack of a large body of Infantry Posted behind Rails & in Strong Houses, does them Infinite Honor, & it is a Proof that they are Determin'd to preserve the reputation Which they have so deservedly Acquir'd in the Course of this War.

*Brig<sup>d</sup>. Orders. 3<sup>rd</sup>. Febr'y 1781*

Capt Goodricke is app<sup>d</sup>. to the L<sup>t</sup> Inf<sup>ry</sup>. & Ens<sup>n</sup>. Stuart to the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Company.

*Orders 12 OClock 4<sup>th</sup> Febr'y. 1781*

The Butchers of the Several Corps will assemble at the Six pounders in the Road to Slaughter Cattle immediately.

It is expected in future when the Brigade of Guards is ordered to march, that they will Assemble to move precisely Within a Q<sup>r</sup>. of an Hours Notice.

The Offrs. of this part of the Army will Not Pitch any Tent on this Ground.

CAMP TRADING FORD<sup>80</sup> YADKIN RIVER,  
4<sup>th</sup> Febr'y. 1781

The Reg<sup>ts</sup>. will Send the Q<sup>r</sup> Masters & Q<sup>r</sup> Master Serj<sup>ts</sup>. to receive their proportion of Pork & Meal at the Post above the Ferry. A Foraging party Consisting of 1 Offr. & 60 Men with all the Bat Horses of the Command with all the Artillery & Waggon Horses will parade immediately at the Artillery Park where a Guide will attend & Conduct them.

*Detail*

	Offrs.	Serjt.	Corp <sup>l</sup>	Private
G <sup>ds</sup>	1	- 2	- 2	- 40
Reg <sup>t</sup> . De Bose	.	- 1	- 1	- 20
Total	1	- 3	- 3	- 60

<sup>80</sup> Trading Ford, a few miles northeast of Salisbury. Here the American army crossed the Yadkin, February 2-3. Brigadier-General O'Hara, who had been sent ahead to overtake the Americans, came to Trading Ford only in time to capture a few wagons and to cannonade the enemy on the opposite side. O'Hara rejoined Cornwallis at Salisbury. David Schenck, *North Carolina, 1780-1781*, 252.



HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. TRADING FORD, YADKIN RIVER,4<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781

Parole, Gosport

C Sign, Godalmin

*After Orders 8 o'Clock at Night*

The Corps will receive a proportion of Flour by sending to Mr Brindley Comis<sup>y</sup> at his Waggon in Salisbury Road, between the Brigade of G<sup>ds</sup>. & the Reg<sup>t</sup>. De Bose Also a Small dividend of Beer for the Officers. This Issue will be made immed<sup>y</sup>.

*Mornin<sup>g</sup>. Orders 5<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781*

A foraging party Consisting of Two Capt<sup>ns</sup>. 2 Sub<sup>ns</sup>. & 200 private to Parade at the Guns at 8 oClock With the Artillery Waggon & Bat Horses of the command, (a proper Guide will Attend). Every Bat Man & Driver will take a Ticket with his Masters Name in his Pock<sup>t</sup>. & the Off<sup>rs</sup>. of the Different Corps will give Receipts for the Qt<sup>y</sup>. of Forage they receive.

*Detail*

	Capt	-	Sub	-	S	-	C	-	P
Brig <sup>de</sup> G <sup>ds</sup> .-	2	-	.	-	4	-	4	-	120
Reg <sup>t</sup> DeBose	.	-	2	-	3	-	3	-	80
Total	2	-	2	-	7	-	7	-	200

The Off<sup>r</sup> Com<sup>dg</sup>. the party will Attend Gen<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara for further Orders.—

Febr<sup>y</sup>. 5<sup>th</sup>. 1781

The Troops will receive a proportion of Flour by Sending to the Com<sup>ry</sup>. Wag<sup>n</sup>. Near the Gen<sup>ls</sup> Tent. The Flank Comp<sup>ys</sup> of the G<sup>ds</sup>. Will relieve the Ferry Guard of 1 Serg<sup>t</sup>. 1 Corp<sup>l</sup>. & 18.

*Order 2 oClock Morn<sup>g</sup>. 6<sup>th</sup> Feb. 81*

The Troops will be ready to March this Morn<sup>g</sup>. precisely at five oClock in the foll<sup>g</sup> Order Observing the Strictest Silence in getting off their Ground & during the March.

*Line of March*

1 <sup>st</sup> Comp <sup>y</sup> 1 <sup>st</sup> . Batt <sup>n</sup> Guards	2 <sup>nd</sup> . Batt <sup>n</sup> Guards
Comp <sup>nys</sup> Waggon,	Hess <sup>n</sup> Picq <sup>ts</sup> .
Bat Horses & Women	2 Six pounders
The two Rear Guards of the	Grenadiers
Brig <sup>de</sup> G <sup>ds</sup> & pris <sup>rs</sup> .	Lt Infantry,
2 <sup>nd</sup> Comp <sup>y</sup> 1 <sup>st</sup> . Batt <sup>n</sup> . G <sup>ds</sup>	



The Reg<sup>ts</sup>. will flank the Left with 1 Off<sup>r</sup> & 30 private Each their Baggage With 1 Corp<sup>l</sup> & 6 Each. The Flanking parties will take Care to keep Sight of the Line of March—the Line to march in half Platoons, & all, or any Extraordinaries to be reported to B G<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara in the Rear of the First Comp<sup>y</sup>.—the whole will March into the Salisbury Road by the Right Calling in their picq<sup>ts</sup>. & parties a Q<sup>r</sup> of an hour before the hour of March & wait till further Ord<sup>rs</sup>. the Lt Inf<sup>ry</sup>. Co<sup>y</sup>. will March by double Files so as to be able to form to the Rear if Occasion Requires The Corps will send at a proper time a Non Commiss<sup>nd</sup> Off<sup>r</sup> to the preceding Corps to inform themselves when they move that the whole may be form'd in proper time & order without Noise

NB The head of the Column to point to Salisbury, the Bat Horses to parade Without Noise at the Guns.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. SALISBURY,  
5<sup>th</sup> Feb: 1781

It is with great Concern that Lord Cornwallis acquaints the Army that he has lately receiv'd the most Shocking Complaints of the Excesses Committed by the Troops, He calls in the most Serious manner on the Off<sup>rs</sup>. Com<sup>dg</sup>. Brigades & Corps to put a Stop to this Licentiousness, which must Inevitably bring Disgrace & Ruin on his Majestys Service. He is Convinc'd that it is in their power to prevent it, & has seen so many proofs of their Zeal for the Service of their Country, that he Cannot Doubt of their utmost Exertions to Detect & punish Offenders without which the Blood of the Brave & Deserving Soldiers will be Shed in vain, & it will not be even in the power of Victory to give Success.

Great Complaints having been made of Negroes Stragling from the Line of March, plundr<sup>g</sup> & Using Violence to the Inhabitants It is Lord Cornwallis possitive Orders that no Negroe shall be Suffred to Carry Arms on any pretence & all Off<sup>rs</sup>. & other persons who Employ Negroes are desir'd to acq<sup>t</sup>. them that the Prov<sup>t</sup>. Marshall has recd Ord<sup>rs</sup>. to Seize & punish on the Spot any Negroe foll<sup>g</sup> the Army who may Offend against this regulation.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>,  
6<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781

The Army to be under Arms & ready to March precisely at 6 OClock tomor<sup>w</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>. in the fol<sup>g</sup>. Order

Yagers  
Cavalry  
2 Three pounders  
Brig<sup>de</sup> Guards  
2 Six pounders  
Reg<sup>t</sup>. DeBose,

Hamilton's Corps,  
2 Six pounders,  
Lt Col Websters Brigade  
Bat Horses  
Waggons



An Offr. & 30 Men of Lt Col Webster's Brig<sup>de</sup>. to March with the Bat Horses the Officer will be Answerable for any Irregularities committed by the Bat Men. A Capt & 100 Men of Lt Col Webster's Brigade, an Offr & 50 Men of the Reg<sup>t</sup>: of Bose, & an Offr. & 12 Drag<sup>ns</sup>. Will March in the rear of the Waggon—It is expected that the Captain will Exert himself to keep good Order & prevent Plundering—Should any Compt. be made of the Waggoners & followers of the Army it must necessarily be Imputed to Neglect on his part All Offrs. are most Earnestly requested to Seize any Militia or followers of the Army who go into Houses & Commit Excesses; & Report them to Head Qrs. As soon as the Troops come to their Ground Any Offr. who looks on with Indifference & does not do his Utmost to prevent the Shamefull Marauding Which has of late prevaild in the Army Will be Consider'd in a more Criminal light than the persons who Commit those Scandalous Crimes, which must bring disgrace & Ruin on his Majestys Arms.

H<sup>d</sup> Qrs,

Eight OClock at Night 7<sup>th</sup> Feb 1781

*Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders*

The Army will March at half past Six in the Morn<sup>g</sup>.

Febr<sup>y</sup>. 8<sup>th</sup>. 1781

The Brig<sup>de</sup>. of G<sup>ds</sup>. will relieve the Prov<sup>n</sup>. Guard of 1 Serg<sup>t</sup> 1 Corp<sup>l</sup> & 18. As soon as the Waggon come up; one days Rum Will be Issued to the Troops at the Same time.

H<sup>d</sup>. Qrs. LINDSAYS PLANTATION,

8<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup> 1781

*Orders*

The Army to be under Arms & ready to March at half past Six tomor<sup>w</sup> Morn<sup>g</sup>. in the follg Order.

Yagers  
Cavalry  
half the Pioneers  
2 Three Pounders  
Lt Col Websters Brigade  
2 Six pounders,  
Reg<sup>t</sup> of Bose

North Carolinians,  
2 Six Pounders  
Brigade of G<sup>ds</sup>.  
Bat Horses  
1/2 the Pioneers  
Waggon.

An Offr. & 12 Dragoons will March with the Rear Guard.



*Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders 9<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781*

Lord Cornwallis having perceivd that many Soldiers from different Corps are Coming into Town & Seemingly for the purpose of getting Liquor, He begs it may be told to the Men that if they Commit Such Irregularities, he Shall not think it Necessary to Trouble the Commis-saries in providing any More Rum for the Men.

9<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup>. 7 oClock at Night.

The Troops to receive to Morrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. at Six OClock an Allowance of Rum & be in Readiness to March at Seven OClock.

*[To be continued]*



## HISTORICAL NOTES

EDITED BY D. L. CORBITT

The notes in this issue consist of "A Half-told Story of Real White Slavery in the Seventeenth Century" written by William Renwick Riddell, justice of the court of appeals, Ontario, Canada; a letter from John Harvey to officers of Massachusetts relative to a ship loaded with provisions sent for the relief of the citizens of Boston, and a reply thereto; and obituary notices.

### *A HALF-TOLD STORY OF REAL WHITE SLAVERY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*<sup>1</sup>

BY WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

The history of North Carolina abounds in interesting episodes, but, perhaps there is none more curious than that in the eighth and ninth decades of the seventeenth century when a man who had been a slave became governor of Carolina.<sup>2</sup>

In 1663, "The Merry Monarch," Charles II granted the territory, now North and South Carolina to a number of favorites, amongst them, the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Albemarle. The Proprietary governors were not, as a rule of very high standing; but we are concerned with only one, Seth Sothel (the name is also spelled Sothell, Southel, Southal, Southell, and Southall).

Governor Sothel's lineage, birth-place and natal year seem to be equally unknown—about 1678, he bought out Clarendon's share and so became senior Proprietor of Carolina; in September, 1678, he set sail for the Colony as governor of the settlement of Albemarle which developed into the colony of North Carolina. The Algerine pirates<sup>3</sup> were still infesting the Western Sea, in-

<sup>1</sup> This note was arranged and furnished by Justice William R. Riddell, judge of the court of appeals, Ontario, Canada.

<sup>2</sup> This territory, part of the Spanish Florida, was by the English, after the settlement of Virginia, called South Virginia; but as early as 1619, when Charles I granted it to Sir Robert Heath, it had come to be called Carolina. For example, in *The Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series)*, Vol. I, p. 200, is found a complaint of Edward Kingswell, Esq., "against Samuel Vassall of London, Marchant, and Peter Andrewes, his brother-in-law, Master of a Ship for faileing . . . contrary to Agreements . . . for the makeing of a Plantation in Carolina." August 6th, 1634. There had been sporadic attempts at settlement previously, but the real settlement of North Carolina began with the grant to Clarendon and his associates in 1663 for the region south of Virginia extending from 31° to 36°, north latitude, and westward across the continent, under the name of Carolina. See *Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. V, p. 286, Note 1; *The Americana*, Vol. XIV, sub voc. "North Carolina." The last reference to Carolina, I find in *The Acts of the Privy Council*, is of "the Province of Carolina, heretofore granted to Sir Robert Heath and lately with the King's approbation, assigned by the said Sir Robert Heath to the Lord Maltravors." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 240. The name Carolina, first appears in the same volume, p. 399, under date April 28th, 1665; the subsequent orthography seems to be uniformly Carolina.

<sup>3</sup> So far did their assurance extend that they actually formed a settlement on an island west of England; they terrorised mariners of all nations for three hundred years, and did not always confine their operations to shipping, there being no few instances of their attacking villages on the land and even of their carrying off single individuals. It was not till the nineteenth century that this curse was fully got rid of.



cluding the waters around Britain, and Sothel had the bad fortune to be taken by them. I find under date June 9th, 1679, an entry;—"Whereas Seth Southall, one of his Majestys Subjects designed by the Proprietors of his Majestys Colony of Carolina to goe their Governour there was in his way thither taken by the Pirates of Argier where he yet remaines in Slavery, It was this Day Ordered by his Majestie in Councell That the said Seth Southall should be endeavoured to be exchanged for one Hadgamore late Commander of the Tiger of Argier or one Bufflo Ball And It was further Ordered that Sir John Narborough Admirall of his Majestys Fleet lately in the Streights doe take care to see the said Exchange Effectuated" <sup>4</sup>

The admiral was not in a position to make an exchange, for we find, July 2nd, him certifying to the Privy Council " . . . That he was then arrived at Plymouth, and had left . . . Hadg omar and Buffolo Ball under the Charge of Vice Admirall Herbert in the Streights . . . ": whereupon Herbert was ordered to procure an exchange for either or both of these prisoners or in case they were already disposed of "for the first Prisoner or Prisoners of Note that shall be taken of the Algerines by any of his Majesty's Ships under his Comand" <sup>5</sup>

It is to be always borne in mind that the English as much as any other nation and more than most were actively engaged in the suppression of this piracy; they suffered probably more from this sea robbery than any other. The Algerines were notoriously ruthless; and it became somewhat common for the sailors to desert the ship when it was pursued by these pirates. It may be worth noticing that in 1670, it was thought necessary to pass legislation enacting;—"That no Master of any . . . English Ship . . . being at Sea, and having discovered any Ship to be a *Turkish* Ship, Pirate or Sea-rover, shall depart out of his Ship upon any Pretence whatsoever, lest by his detention on Board any such Ship, the Safety of his own Ship be hazarded": Mariners and inferior officers were forbidden to refuse to fight in defence of their ship of goods and provision was made for penalties proportionate to the offence. <sup>6</sup>

It will be readily understood that Vice Admiral Herbert's energies were being strained to their utmost in the exercise of his official duties in watching for and combatting the Corsairs who infested the Mediterranean as well as the Atlantic, and even in greater numbers—the designation "Admiral of the Straits" referred to his post as guarding

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 838. "Hadgemore" was, of course, "Hadji Omar." Sir John Narborough (or Narbrough, as the name is generally spelled) was in 1674 Commander of the Squadron sent against the Corsairs of Tripoli, and in 1677, Commander of the Squadron sent against the Algerine Corsairs. The Algerine prisoners for whom Sir John was expected to arrange an exchange to release Sothel were, no doubt, part of the fruits of the latter of these expeditions which were, at least, partially successful.

<sup>5</sup> This Vice-Admiral Herbert was Arthur Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, who served against the Algerine Pirates 1669-1671, and lost an eye in the captures of a Corsair in the Mediterranean in 1678; he, as Admiral of the Straits relieved Tangiers in 1680 and continued in command against the Algerines till 1683. The quotation is from *Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series)*, Vol. II, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> (1670). 22, 23 Charles II, cap. 11, ss. 3, 6, &c.



the Straits of Gibraltar, but he was called on to meet and destroy the pirates wherever he found them, especially in the Mediterranean. It does not astonish us to find that Herbert could not attend successfully to the task set him by the Council: and that, June 2nd, 1680, a Petition from the captive was presented to the Council and acted upon.

"Seth Southill Captive in Algiers, Praying in regard of Vice Admirall Herberts urgent Affaires, that the Release of the the Petitioner directed by Order of the 2nd of July last . . . might be negotiated by Merchants"—it was referred to the commissioners of the admiralty to effect the release in whatsoever way, it should seem most convenient.<sup>7</sup>

The commissioners approved of the exchange being negotiated by merchants; but the Algerines became incensed at the delay, and increased the severity of the slavery of their prisoner: the commissioners, too, were cautious, and did not intend to risk losing the valuable Algerine captives without the certainty of receiving the Englishman. We, accordingly, on September 15th, find the commissioners reporting that they approved of the merchants dealing with the matter but they "doe require of the Petitioner to give security for the safe returning of the said Prisoners in case he should happen to dye before he be exchanged, which the Petitioner by reason of his captivity is not in a Condition to procure" They also reported "And alsoe that the Petitioner being more severely treated by the Turks than eber who are enraged at the Long delay of the said Prisoners exchange, therefore make him carry Morter, Brick and stone for the Masons with a heavy Chaine of Nine links, each linke two inches and a halfe thick upon his legg besides Bolt and Shackle . . . " The petitioner prayed that the two Algerine captains might be sent to the English agent at Leghorn, Thomas Deedham, to keep until the exchange could be effected: and to leave the negotiations in the hands of Messrs. Charles Longland, Charles Harris and John Brookin, English merchants at Leghorn. This the Privy Council ordered to be done.<sup>8</sup>

When it came to negotiation, the Algerines were not satisfied to accept their two captains as an equivalent, but required their prisoner to give an undertaking to pay 6,000 pieces of eight: for this sum, some English subjects at Algiers became surety, one of them named Wimbourne taking a bond from the captive for 3,000 pieces of eight, the part of the ransom for which he was bound, and Robert Cole another for the same sum for the like reason. It would seem that this extra extortion was without the knowledge of the English authorities and not included in the agreement made with the Dey of Algiers.

<sup>7</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series)*, Vol. II, p. 3—the name is spelled "Southell" in the marginal note, but "Southill" in the text. The commissioners were the English merchants at Leghorn, Italy, the great clearing-house for Algerine captives at the time—and, incidentally it may be said that its citizens were not above suspicion of sharing the Corsairs' profits.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 2, 4.



Sothel came home and was sued for the 3,000 pieces of eight which Wimbourne was compelled to pay, and which the ransomed man omitted to repay. Judgment going against him in the Common Bench and he not paying, he was lodged in the Debtors' Prison, the Counter in London. He applied again, July 28th, 1681, to the Council who referred it to the law officers of the Crown to see what could be done for him.<sup>9</sup>

The attorney-general reported, September 6th, 1681, that "the only way for the Petitioners relief will be by Bill in Equity to be brought in the name of his Majesties Attorney Generall and the said Mr. Sothell, and that in the meantime, the actions brought may bee removed into the King's Bench": also that the debtor should be provided with bail.<sup>10</sup>

Bail being provided pending proceedings in the King's Bench, Sothel paid up the judgment for 3,000 pieces of eight but did not pay the other 3,000 pieces of eight for which he was bound to Robert Cole, who had agreed and become bound to pay that sum to the Algerines as part of the ransom.

Instead of providing for this 3,000 pieces of eight like an honest man, he left Cole in the lurch, bound to the captors for this sum. The Council were informed by the commission that "The Dey and Government of Algier having writt very earnestly to his Majestie that the said summe may Speedily be satisfied . . . it is to be apprehended that unlesse some effectuall care be taken therein (Cole not being worth the money) they may seize upon his Majesties Consull upon his Arrivall there, and that possibly worse Consequencyes may attend it."

The council ordered "that the Attorney General doe forthwith prepare a Bill for his Majestys Signature commanding the said Seth Southell to Repaire into England within three months after notice thereof, and to render himselfe to one of his Majesties Principall Secretaries of State as he tenders his Allegiance and will Answer the Countary at his ytmoste perill, unless he hath before notice thereof be given him, satisfyed and payd the said three Thousand peeces or eight."<sup>11</sup>

It is probable that the offender settled the amount, as it is certain that he did not return to England as ordered, but remained in the Colony as governor of the settlement of Albemarle. Out of the twenty governors sent out by the Proprietors, nearly all were worthless—we are told that the colonists deposed six of them. Sothel seems to have been taken prisoner, one Harvey acted as *locum tenens*. Harvey dying, Jenkins was made governor, but the people deposed him and one Wilkinson was appointed; when Sothel arrived in 1683, the popular party was in control; and they did not take to him in the least. Things went

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol., pp. 4, 5. For the subsequent career of Sothel, see Winsor, *op. cit.* pp. 296, 313; *Americana sub voce*. North Carolina, South Carolina: D. N. B., Vol. 53, p. 288, and any history of either Carolina.



on from bad to worse, and at length in 1688 the colonists seized him, intending to ship him home for trial; this was not done but the matter was referred to the colonial Assembly who condemned him, awarding as a punishment banishment for twelve months and deposition from authority forever.

That was not the last of him—what is now South Carolina was having trouble with its governor, Landgrave Colleton, whom they accused of an “illegal, tyrannical and oppressive way of government.” Sothel, who it must be remembered had bought out Clarendon’s share in this territory as well as in that now North Carolina, arrived at this juncture and took the position of governor; he is said to have “acted pretty much as he pleased, till he was turned out of his new position by his colleagues in London,” when, in 1691, he was succeeded by Ludwell. It should, perhaps, be noted that the Proprietors in England do not seem ever to have approved of his acting as governor.

The North Carolinians took the high constitutional ground that the King’s Charter directed the Proprietors to “govern according to their best discretion by and with the advice assent and approbation of the Freemen of said territory, or their deputies or delegates.”

Sothel appears to have returned to England, and to have died in 1697.

Surely it is without parallel that one who had been a slave, carrying mortar brick and stone in chains for his masters, should become governor in two colonies in succession. My own reading in history does not enable me to point out any similar case.

*LETTER FROM JOHN HARVEY TO JAMES BOWDOIN*<sup>12</sup>

*Perquimans Co., 20th Sept., 1774.*

HON’BLE GENTLEMEN,

Joseph Hewes, Esq., appointed a Trustee with me, to collect the donations of the inhabitants of two or three Counties in the neighborhood of Edenton, for the relief of our distressed brethren of Boston, being absent attending the Constitutional Congress at Philadelphia, I have the pleasure to send you, as per inclosed bill of lading, of the sloop *Penelope*, Edward Herbert, master, which wish safe to hand, and that you will cause the amount of the same to be divided among the poor inhabitants according to their necessities.

The captain has received the most of his freight here. The balance will be paid him on return, the cargo to be received some months sooner, but the difficulty of getting a vessel on freight, prevented. Hope to be able to send another cargo this winter, for the same charitable purpose, as the American inhabitants of this Colony entertain a just sense of the sufferings of our brethren in Boston, and have yet hopes that when

<sup>12</sup> *Massachusetts Historical Collections* (Fourth Series), Vol. IV, page 85.



the united determinations of the continent reaches the royal ear, they will have redress from the cruel, unjust, illegal and oppressive late Acts of the British Parliament. I take the liberty to inclose you the resolves of our provincial meeting of Deputies, and have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem, in behalf of Mr. Hewes and self.

Honorable Gentlemen, your most obedient and very humble servant,  
JOHN HARVEY.

*To the Honorable James Bowdoin, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Isaac Smith, Esqrs., and to the Honorable Committee of Correspondence in Boston.*

DAVID JEFFRIES TO JOHN HARVEY<sup>13</sup>

*Boston, Oct. 17th, 1774.*

Sir,

The 15th instant, Capt. Edward Herbert delivered to the Committee of Donations your very acceptable favor, dated Perquimans County, 20th Sept. ult., directed to the honorable Mr. Bowdoin and others, inclosing a bill lading for two thousand ninety-six and a half bushels of corn, twenty-two barrels flour, and seventeen barrels of pork, a noble and generous donation from our worthy brethren and fellow-countrymen of two or three Counties in the neighborhood of Edenton. We shall endeavor, in the distribution of their charities, to answer the intention of the benevolent donors. On this occasion it may not be improper to communicate to you the method, in general, which the Committee have gone into, respecting those charitable donations which have come into their hands. We therefore refer you to the printed account thereof, which we take the freedom to enclose, and we hope will be satisfactory to all our friends, of whose bounties we partake.

The losses, sufferings, and distresses of this Province, and of this once flourishing and happy Town, are really great; not possible to be expressed, not easy to be conceived. We think that every day we carry our lives in our hands; and this apprehension and view of the case, is of itself sufficient to fill the mind with such disquietude and distress, as those, who are not immediately concerned, cannot well conceive of. Our harbor is blocked up by men-of-war, stationed in different parts, and the only avenue into the Town, by land, secured by regular fortifications of earth, erected on both sides said avenue, and containing five or six pieces of cannon each, with wide and deep ditches round the whole, except (at present) where said fortification fronts upon said avenue, or main road. These fastnesses are erected about eighty or ninety rods southerly of the fortifications, as the town generally terms it,) or walls, at the very entrance into the body of the Town, which

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pages 86, 88.



entrance is about thirty or forty feet wide. Said walls extend about seventy or eighty feet easterly and westerly, from the sides of said entrance, and on them are planted ten or twelve pieces of cannon more. To these walls, the sea flows, as also to said avenue,—that is, just without the walls, and for the distance of ten or twelve rods on the eastern, and sixty or seventy rods on the western side. Between these walls, and those fortifications of earth, a regiment is encamped on both sides said avenue, and there the soldiers are building barracks for themselves. Four regiments yet remain encamped on the Common, where also they have ten or twelve pieces, of cannon, with soldiers belonging to the train. The regiment of Welch fusileers, remains encamped on Fort Hill, which is near the water, and nor far southerly of what we call the Long Wharf. Transports have some time ago sailed for New York, to bring soldiers from thence, Philadelphia and the Jerseys. Also transports sailed sometime since to bring two regiments from Quebec. Three companies of soldiers lately arrived from Newfoundland, and it is said, six more regiments may be expected from England, and sundry men-of-war.

If Great Britain is determined to effect the subjugation of North America, *at all events*, the scene must be dreadful. But, be their determination what it may, Americans, we trust, are determined, in the strength of God, not to surrender their rights and liberties, but with their lives. But we hope, when the determination of the Colonies is *believed* on the other side the water, and the guilt of the injustice, oppression and cruelty of their measures stares them in the face, they will deliberate *twice*, before they proceed to act *once* more. We think they have been greatly deceived; we are sure we have been grossly misrepresented; and, when they are undeceived, it may be hoped an alteration of measures may take place, which may God in great mercy order, and prevent the effusion of precious blood.

We thank you for the resolves of your provincial meeting of Deputies, which you were so kind as to inclose. We esteem them as manly, spirited and noble, worthy our patriotic brethren of North Carolina. The tender concern for, and honor done, this greatly injured and oppressed Town and Province, expressed therein, demand our particular notice and grateful acknowledgements, which are hereby tendered by this Committee in behalf of the Town. In short, your bounty, of which we now partake so largely, and the encouragement given of the increase thereof, lay us under the greatest obligation, and make us almost forget our misery. God grant that our endeavors to restore and preserve the rights of our dear America, may be attended with his favor and blessing; then we may hope that we shall have occasion, both *he that soweth* and *he that reapeth*, to rejoice together in the salvation of our God and Saviour. To him be all the glory.



You will please to present our sincere and affectionate regards to the worthy gentleman, who is joined with you in the matter of these charitable and seasonable donations, and accept the same from,

Sir, your much obliged and very humble servant,

DAVID JEFFRIES (per order of the Committee of Donations.

To the Honorable John Harvey, Esq. North Carolina.

#### OBITUARIES PRIOR TO 1800

These obituary notices will be inserted from time to time covering the period prior to and including the year 1800. They will be taken from the North Carolina newspapers now on file in the offices of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

#### *HENRY MONTFORT, M. SUMNER AND ROBERT COTTON DEAD*<sup>14</sup>

DIED, lately, at the town of Chester, of the epidemic fever, which he caught in Philadelphia, HENRY MONTFORT, Esq. of Warrenton. Also, Mr. M. SUMNER, son of the late General Sumner, a young gentleman of the most promising expectations.

— yesterday, in this town, Mr. ROBERT COTTEN.

#### *ANN HERO AND JESSE BENTON DEAD*<sup>15</sup>

DIED—On Friday last, after a short illness, Mrs. ANN HERO, of this town.

— Lately, in Orange county, JESSE BENTON, esq. attorney at law.

#### *ISAAC BLANCHARD DEAD*<sup>16</sup>

DIED.) on Saturday last, Mr. *Isaac Blanchard* of this town; his remains were followed to the grave by the officers and members of St. John's Lodge of this town No. 2.

#### *ELIZABETH HALLING AND JOHN WILLIAMS BURTON DEAD*<sup>17</sup>

DIED.) on Wednesday last Mrs. ELIZABETH HALLING, the Lady of the Reverend Dr. *S. Halling*. This amiable Woman, having for some years lingered under a variety of bodily afflictions, with an applauding conscience, clamly resigned her soul into the hands of God who gave it; and with a truly religious submission, departed this Life,

<sup>14</sup> *The North-Carolina Journal*, Nov. 6, 1793.

<sup>15</sup> *The North-Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette*, January 10, 1791.

<sup>16</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, January 18, 1794.

<sup>17</sup> *North-Carolina Gazette*, September 21, 1793.



deeply and deservedly regretted and lamented, by all her relatives and friends, to whom while living she was endeared by many virtues.

On Monday the 16th. inst. at 7 o'clock in the morning, Mr. JOHN WILLIAMS BURTON, son of Col. *Robert Burton*, and grand son and heir apparent to the Honorable *Judge Williams*, aged 17 years and 2 months, after an illness of 9 days. He was a very promising youth, brought up and educated under the eye of *Judge Williams*—And is much lamented not only by his relations, but by the whole neighborhood.

THOMAS EGDEN DEAD <sup>18</sup>

NEWBERN, August 15.

DIED) on the 4th Instant, at the seat of *Edward Starkey*, Esq; in Onslow county, Mr. *Thomas Ogden* of this town.

PHEBE OGDEN DEAD <sup>19</sup>

NEWBERN, August 7, 1778.

Since our last, died here, after a very short illness, Mrs. PHEBE OGDEN, wife of Mr. *Thomas Ogden*, of this town; a lady in the bloom of youth and beauty, cut off from the tender embraces of conjugal felicity, and the very flattering hopes of society, her family, and afflicted parents.

<sup>18</sup> *Martin's North Carolina Gazette*, August 15, 1787.

<sup>19</sup> *The North-Carolina Gazette*, August 7, 1778.



## BOOK REVIEWS

The Clinchfield Railroad. By W. W. Way, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1931. Pp. xx, 297. \$5.00.)

The sub-title of this book, "The Story of a Trade Route Across the Blue Ridge Mountains," is more accurately descriptive of the volume than the main title. This is fortunate, for while the details of the financing, construction, and operation of a railroad are apt to be lacking in vital appeal, the story of a trade route is certain to be an interesting segment of the social and economic history of the people who mapped it out and furthered its development. As such it will reflect their hopes and ambitions, their prosperity, and not infrequently their despair.

Particularly is the story of any trade route across the Southern Appalachians bound to be of interest to Carolinians. Nature placed an unbroken wall of mountains between the Carolinas and the Ohio River Valley. Only two railroads have ever been built across this barrier. One is the Swannanoa route, built by the state of North Carolina. The other is the Clinchfield. Neither of the two has established the flow of traffic to the seaboard for which the Carolinas so long held high hope. The railroads have been a success; the trade route a failure.

Mr. Way has done an excellent piece of work in placing the Clinchfield in its proper relationship to the long series of efforts to connect the Ohio River with the South Carolina coast. Charleston took the lead in 1835 with Hayne's Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad. Hayne expected to use the Saluda Gap and French Broad route. But the death of Hayne and the financial difficulties of the late thirties wrecked the plans of the company. Charleston wavered in determination for a while and came near joining Georgia in the effort to proceed westward around the mountains by way of Atlanta. Calhoun strongly urged a connection with the lower Mississippi instead of with the Ohio, but such a plan seemed too obviously to the interest of Georgia, and Charleston refused to be weaned away from its hope of capturing the great Northwest. In 1851 came the Blue Ridge Railroad starting at Anderson and heading for Knoxville by a route to the south of the Saluda Gap, but the war stopped the work and subsequent efforts to revive the project never bore fruit.



The next impetus came from another source. General John H. Wilder, formerly an officer in the Union army, interested northern capital and in 1886 organized the Charleston, Cincinnati and Chicago Railroad. This company had built a road from Camden to Marion, North Carolina, when financial difficulties overtook it in the nineties. The track south of Marion soon passed into the hands of the newly formed Southern Railway Company. After many highly involved corporate changes, the Carolina, Clinchfield and Ohio Railway Company opened a road from Dante, Virginia, to Marion in 1908 and to Spartanburg in 1909. The Clinchfield's major traffic, it was thought, would be coal from Kentucky and Virginia mines moving to the industrial areas of the Piedmont Carolinas. This has remained substantially true to the present, although other classes of traffic have been developed.

The Clinchfield at the time of its completion was under the control of the same financial interests as the Seaboard Air Line Railway. This connection between the two roads was later severed, and in 1924 the Clinchfield was leased to one of the Seaboard's principal competitors. While Mr. Way faithfully traces these changes in corporate interests, it is to be regretted that he does not more satisfactorily treat the reasons underlying the changes.

The author describes with commendable thoroughness the corporate and financial intricacies connected with the building of the road. The chapter on the construction of the track is especially interesting in view of the engineering difficulties presented and the high degree of excellence attained in the finished roadway. But the amount of detail given is excessive. In this respect Mr. Way's zeal for his subject has carried him somewhat beyond the point of maximum reader-interest. But the book is scholarly and well-documented, and deserves a prominent place in the growing shelf of books on the development of trade channels in the Southeast.

The time has now arrived for a highly synthetic study of all the projects born and nurtured in the Carolinas and Georgia during the past century to connect the South Atlantic Coast with the "Western Waters." It was not, of course, Mr. Way's purpose to make such a study, but each new addition to the specialized literature in this general field makes more evident the need of the broader perspective.

C. K. BROWN.

Davidson College.



The Epic of America. By James Truslow Adams. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 433. \$3.00.)

This volume is not a textbook, and the reader who desires concrete facts will have to look elsewhere. Rather the author has essayed "to paint a picture, with broad strokes of the brush, of the variegated past which has made our national story, and at the same time to try to discover for himself and others how the ordinary American . . . has become what he is to-day." Portraying the march of American civilization from the time of the Aztecs and Mayas to the economic crisis under Hoover, the work is indeed a great epic. It is written in such a way as to appeal to the masses, and yet offers invaluable interpretation and synthesis for the scholar.

Throughout the book runs one great central theme, the influence of the frontier, which "was, perhaps, the most important moulding influence in American life." As wave after wave of settlers pushed westward they were forced, as it were, through a sieve, and "the American population has been squeezed through such a sieve over and over again." As a result there was bred contempt for learning, narrowness, and provinciality, but at the same time a vigor, a youthful enthusiasm, and a spirit of self-reliance which the Old World did not know. Largely due to this stimulus there developed the great "American dream," "of a land in which life should be better and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability and achievement."

Along the Atlantic coast was the first frontier, but it was "never really a frontier in the later American sense." In fact, the civilization of the British continental colonies by 1750 had come to resemble in many ways that of Europe, and might have continued to do so "had the waves of the Pacific instead of the fleeting power of France been all that lay on the western side of the Appalachians." Then with Jefferson came the first attempt to carry out the American dream, an attempt which received its strongest support from the West, and which was to be repeated in succeeding generations under Jackson, Lincoln, Bryan, Roosevelt, and Wilson, all of whom, in spite of superficial differences, were alike in many of their great aims. The last two of these leaders carried us far in the direction "of reconstructing the possibilities of the American dream in a new world of economic dinosaurs," and gave us "a new and sober vision



of ourselves." Then came the world cataclysm. "For Europe the war was an economic debacle; for us it was a moral calamity." At the end of the struggle, "faced by the responsibilities of a moral leadership in a world such as had never before come to any nation, America backed out of the room frightened and stammering." Afterward, during the latest decade, "Harding had to liquidate the war; Coolidge had quietly to liquidate the scandals of the Harding regime; and Hoover is now watching the liquidation of the 'Coolidge prosperity.' "

Not yet has the American dream been realized. With the passing of the frontier about 1890, the great "safety valve" has gone. Since then have appeared the new and complex problems of urban civilization, class struggle, and a type of imperialism novel to America. The dream seems in many ways more difficult of attainment than formerly. If it is to become a reality, "our communal spiritual and intellectual life must be distinctly higher than elsewhere," the cultural plane of the average American must be raised above that of the average man in other countries. To-day the prospect of success is "discouraging," "but not hopeless."

Certain unfavorable criticisms may be made. For one thing the writer is at times given to exaggeration and overstatement. Such assertions as the following should be toned down. Before the coming of the white man to America "a squirrel might have leaped from bough to bough for a thousand miles and never have seen a flicker of sunshine on the ground . . . " (p. 4). "The original thirteen States had been sovereign and independent before the United States came into being. There was no doubt about that" (p. 237). "The election of 1860 left the South in the absolute political power of a party which was solely Northern" (p. 252).

Likewise there are factual errors, and certain generalizations not in accordance with the views of the recognized authorities on the various subjects involved. Only a few illustrations can be given. In view of the researches of Professor Lybyer, it can hardly be held that the blocking of the old trade routes by the Turks played any decisive part in causing the discovery of America (pp. 25-26). Teach and Blackbeard were not two different individuals (p. 51), but were one and the same person. To say that the British ministry's plan of 1763 for the trans-Alleghany region "was never seriously con-



sidered again" (pp. 77-78) is to show ignorance of the great work of Alvord. The Regulator movement in North Carolina was put down in 1771 rather than in 1772 (p. 85). It is debatable whether by 1812 Napoleon "had injured our commerce quite as much as" Great Britain had done (p. 144). It seems hardly fair to speak of President Taft as "weak, amiable, and with a legal mind" (p. 359). One feels, too, that the writer's account of the past two or three decades is too much colored by his own prejudices, and does not maintain the high level of objectivity to be found elsewhere in the book.

But the existence of such flaws should not blind the reader to the fact that Mr. Adams has made an invaluable contribution. He has given us a vision of the nobility and grandeur of our past which, in the little affairs of the moment, we are all too apt to forget.

C. C. CRITTENDEN.

University of North Carolina.

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State Rights in the Confederacy. Second impression, with new preface. By Frank Lawrence Owsley. (University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xi, 290. \$3.00.)

King Cotton Diplomacy. By Frank Lawrence Owsley. (University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xi, 617. \$5.00.)

Six years ago Dr. Owsley's startling and revolutionary little book, "State Rights in the Confederacy," appeared from the press. In that book he challenged the common assumption that the Confederacy was, in the last analysis, defeated by superior numbers and overwhelming resources. He claimed that, as readers will recall, despite the numerical superiority of the North, despite the blockade, despite the lack of industrial development, despite the inadequate financial system and all else, the South might still have established its independence but for its attempt to practice in wartime its theory of state rights.

Naturally Dr. Owsley's book caused wide discussion. In some quarters it was hotly challenged, most by elderly gentlemen with a pro-Confederate complex. But it seems to have been fairly impregnable. For Dr. Owsley has continued his researches in the field of Confederate history, and has found very little in his iconoclastic opus that he would like to modify. Now that a second printing is



called for, he declares that were he re-writing the book, the only change that he would like to make would be "to emphasize the irritability of President Davis, due to ill health, as a factor in plunging him into quarrels with men like Brown and Vance."

Having thrown a flood of light on the Confederacy's internal politics, Dr. Owsley fittingly turns his attention to the foreign affairs of the Lost Cause. Now we have the fruits of his wide and industrious research in a scholarly, well written, and well documented volume, entitled "King Cotton Diplomacy." With the exception of Callahan's pioneer work, written before the European archives for this period were opened, this is the first attempt at a complete diplomatic history of the Confederacy, a work which has long been needed. Dr. Owsley has apparently read everything connected with his subject, both at home and abroad, has found much new information, and knows how to use it. I have no hesitation in predicting that his work will stand as definitive.

In assembling his data, Dr. Owsley was "amazed and pleased," as he tells us, "to find fundamental order underlying chaos and purpose in confusion. That which gives order and purpose to Confederate diplomacy is the rôle which King Cotton played."

At the outbreak of the war, the Confederate leaders, as is well known, counted on European intervention as a virtual certainty. In fact, had it not been for the fixed belief that England and France could not do without Southern cotton even for a year, the Southern states would not have seceded at all. When Senator Hammond of South Carolina boasted of the power of King Cotton during the Lecompton debate in 1858, he was only giving grandiloquent expression to a philosophy in which all the secessionist leaders believed. Said he, "without firing a gun, without drawing a sword, should they make war upon us, we could bring the world to our feet. . . . The South is perfectly competent to go on for one, or two, or even three years without planting a seed of cotton. . . . What would happen if no cotton were planted for three years? . . . England would topple headlong and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South. No power on earth dares to make war upon it. Cotton is king!"

Secession being accomplished, King Cotton was invoked by the Confederate leaders and called upon to strut his stuff. Embargoes



were placed upon the staple by the various local authorities (Richmond refraining for diplomatic reasons), and agents were sent abroad in the confident belief that in the face of an impending cotton famine, recognition would be forthcoming within a few months. For over three years the Confederate agents, chief of whom were Slidell and Mason, labored in Paris and London with considerable ability and sometimes in high hopes of success. The story of their efforts is told by Dr. Owsley in great detail; there is neither space nor need to summarize the story here. As Dr. Owsley says, "Always the diplomatic efforts of the Confederacy were directed primarily toward obtaining intervention. At times the Confederate agents sought repudiation of the European blockade; at times they sought friendly mediation. Always they sought the recognition of the independence of the Confederacy. Any form of recognition or intervention would, they believed, end in independence."

What, then, was wrong with the King Cotton philosophy, and why did not Europe intervene? From the first almost to the last, Napoleon III would have liked to intervene, for the sake of promoting his Mexican scheme, but he was unpopular at home, the French people were in sympathy with the United States, and he was afraid to risk the chance of war without the coöperation of England. In England the situation was more complicated. But nothing was further from the truth, as Dr. Owsley shows, than the interpretation of the older school of historians who placed England's non-intervention upon a high and idealistic basis, i.e., the alleged sympathy of the Lancashire population and of the common people generally with Union as a noble experiment in democracy, and their hatred of slavery. As for idealism among the cotton mill operatives, it was practically non-existent. He also demolishes the contention of the newer school of economic historians who, properly skeptical of the idealism of cotton mill operatives, have sought to find the real clue to England's non-intervention in the fear of the loss of American wheat. As Dr. Owsley shows, the danger of a wheat famine was apparently never even discussed in the British Cabinet, and with Polish and Russian wheat available, the danger of a wheat famine was non-existent. What, then, were the real reasons why England did not intervene?

In the first place, the South had produced bumper crops of cotton during the two years preceding the war, the English mills were over-



supplied, and in fact were facing bankruptcy on account of overproduction. By the fall of 1862, when the cotton famine became most acute, other powerful factors were militating against intervention. One of these factors was England's reluctance to aid in setting a precedent of intervention in the domestic struggles of a first-class power, especially in the midst of war. Again, the Palmerston government, as if foreseeing 1914-16, was constrained to acquiesce in Lincoln's paper blockade because America was renouncing some of the very rights for which she had fought in the War of 1812 and setting a precedent which might disarm American protests against British lordship of seas at a later date. Yet again, while there was appalling distress among the cotton mill operatives, they had almost no political power and were well schooled in servility, while England's solid men of business, who contributed to campaign funds, were selling unprecedented amounts of war supplies to America and waxing fat and greasy. But most important of all was fear of war with America. In that case England would be extremely vulnerable—she might lose Canada and her merchant marine. True, the English governing classes, the Prime Minister included, would have liked to see America divided. But they never doubted until it was too late "that the South would win its independence and the roast pigeon would thus fly into the open mouth of the British lion without any other effort than the opening of his jaws." Once indeed, during the height of the cotton famine, the Cabinet was on the verge of intervention. Gladstone favored it; Earl Russell favored it; foxy old Palmerston in Downing Street awaited the news from Maryland. Had the unknown courier been more careful with his cigars he might have changed the history of the world. But McClellan, knowing his enemy's plans, for once was not afraid to fight, and the last well founded hope of intervention vanished in the smoke of Sharpsburg.

CHARLES LEE SNIDER.

Denton, N. C.

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Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816. By Delbert Harold Gilpatrick. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1931. Pp. 257. \$4.25.)

This study offers a detailed account of a period of our political history frequently neglected because of the more general interest in the colonial era and in the ante-bellum period. It is a valuable sup-



plement to Wagstaff, *States' Rights in North Carolina*, Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860*, and the more recent book by Norton, *The Ante-Bellum Democratic Party in North Carolina*.

In marked contrast with the State today, North Carolina in the period 1789-1816 was a "democracy of individualistic farmers stubbornly objecting to any and all federal taxes and steadfastly devoted to the Jeffersonian party with its suspicion of government by the "rich, the well-born, and the able."

Dr. Gilpatrick carefully traces the economic and political background of Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, showing how the political divisions fell more or less along geographic, economic, and social lines. Geography was a prominent factor in making the State "firmly Republican." It was felt that North Carolina was not and could not become a commercial state. It had no large cities, very little commerce, and no banking facilities until 1804. In fact, it was the last of the thirteen original states to have a bank. It was perfectly natural for a state of "small farmers" to fall in line with an agrarian political party. There was much truth in the toast, "The State of North Carolina. Truly Republican without ostentation."

The author treats the subject chronologically throughout. He devotes considerable space to the division of opinion in the State on political questions between 1776 and 1789, and shows how the struggle over the ratification of the federal Constitution drove the contending factions farther and farther apart. Finally the "Hamiltonian measures" of the central government led to the formation of two real political parties in the State.

From 1789 to 1816, which date Dr. Gilpatrick considers the end of the Federalist party, North Carolina opposed the centralizing policies of Federalism. It believed that the assumption of state debts was "dangerous to the interests and rights of North Carolina." It considered the excise tax "iniquitous, obnoxious, and odious." It was not enthusiastic about the national bank, and it opposed liberal federal expenditures. No other legislature of the period was quite so violent in denunciation of the federal government.

Up to 1793 the State was swinging steadily toward the Jeffersonian party, but threats of war with England checked this trend.



When war was averted by means of the unpopular Jay Treaty, North Carolina again swung toward the new political organization, giving 11 electoral votes to Jefferson to 1 for Adams in 1796. From 1797 to 1800 there was another definite swing toward Federalism, which reached its high-water mark in the State in 1798. The discussion of the 1798 election for State officers is one of the best parts of the book.

In 1799, a strong Republican newspaper, the *Raleigh Register*, began publication. This, coupled with intense criticism of the Alien and Sedition Acts, greatly strengthened the new party. Nevertheless, Federalist tendencies were so strong in the State that Jefferson considered North Carolina "the most dangerous State" in 1800. He thought the "people substantially Republican, but uninformed and deceived by the lawyers." He declared that "the medicine for that state must be very mild and secretly administered."

It must have been properly administered, for the State went overwhelmingly Republican in 1800. Then followed a "decade of rampant republicanism," as Dr. Gilpatrick calls it. This is his best chapter. In it he gives a very good account of the leaders of the party and the state and national issues involved. Economy in government, reform of the judicial system, and the creation of banks were some of the most important state issues. The Republican legislature advocated strict economy. It deprived the University of part of its income, and threatened to adjourn to Fayetteville because the price of board had advanced in Raleigh. Yet it raised the pay of legislators from 25 to 30 shillings a day!

In the last chapter Dr. Gilpatrick discusses Republicanism and Mr. Madison's War (1811-1816). He shows that the Embargo and Non-Intercourse had very little effect on North Carolina because it had little commerce or manufacturing. From 1811 to 1816 there was considerable opposition in the State to Madison's administration. This probably reached its greatest height during the war, when there was much complaint about the defenceless condition of the coast.

During the last years of the period studied, the main problems confronting the state legislature were internal improvements, western migration, steamboat navigation, and education at state expense.

The chief sources used by Dr. Gilpatrick were the official records and legislative proceedings of the State, governors' letter books and



papers, manuscript collections, and newspapers, particularly the *Raleigh Register*, *Minerva* (Fayetteville, 1796-99, Raleigh after 1799), *Raleigh Star*, and the *State Gazette of North-Carolina*. The *Register* was the chief Republican organ, while the *Minerva* was the leading Federalist paper.

Some of the secondary books listed in the bibliography have little or no bearing on the period, while other important secondary accounts are omitted. Conspicuous omissions are, S. F. Bemis, *Jay's Treaty* and J. W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812*. No mention is made of any of the books dealing with the Alien and Sedition Acts or the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

One might take issue with some statements in Chapter One. The statement that "education was left entirely to private academies" (p. 19) is misleading. The generalization that the "majority of the delegates from each of the eastern counties voting against it (and hence for the Constitution) and the majority of the delegates from the western counties voting for the motion (and accordingly against the Constitution)" (p. 33), is not quite correct. Lincoln County in the West voted for the Constitution in 1788, and Brunswick, Duplin, New Hanover, Northampton, Onslow, and Sampson, in the East, voted against it.

The author has given a splendid account of the political evolution of the Jeffersonian party in North Carolina. He might have devoted more space to the social and economic forces predominant in North Carolina at that time. His chronological method of presentation makes the book rather monotonous reading in places. As a whole, however, it is very well written and interesting reading. It has an analytical table of contents and an appendix showing the result of North Carolina Congressional elections, 1803-1810.

HUGH T. LEFLER.

North Carolina State College.



## BOOKS RECEIVED

*Edmund Ruffin: Southerner. A Study in Secession.* By Avery Craven. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1932. Pp. ix, 283. \$3.00)

*The Populist Revolt.* By John D. Hicks. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1931. Pp. xiii, 473. \$4.00.)

*South Carolina During Reconstruction.* By F. B. Simkins and R. H. Woody. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1932. Pp. xiv, 610. \$8.00.)

*The United States Since 1865.* By Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Company. 1932. Pp. xx, 775. \$5.00.)

*From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee. A Study in Frontier Democracy.* By Thomas Perkins Abernethy. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1932. Pp. xi, 392. \$3.50.)

*A Social History of the Sea Islands. With Special Reference to St. Helena Island, South Carolina.* By Guion Griffis Johnson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1930. Pp. 245. \$3.00.)

*Mexican Labor in the United States. Chicago and the Calumet Region.* By Paul S. Taylor. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1932. Pp. vii, 25-284. \$3.00.)

*Walch and Allied Families.* By Gustine Courson Weaver. (Cincinnati: Powell and White. 1932. Pp. 312. \$5.00.)

*On Understanding Women.* By Mary R. Beard. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 532. \$3.50.)



## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, *The North Carolina Booklet* and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates is requested to send them to A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at the regular price of \$2.00 per volume or 50 cents per number.

Professor B. B. Kendrick, of the history faculty of the North Carolina College for Women, is teaching in the summer session at Harvard University.

Messrs. F. S. Hale, E. H. Hunnicutt, and Paul Murray have been appointed teaching fellows in history at the University of North Carolina for the coming year.

Professor A. M. Arnett of the faculty of N. C. C. W. is engaged during the summer in research on the life of Claude Kitchen.

The following fellowships in history, ranging in value from \$600 to \$750, have been awarded for the coming year at Duke University: Helen E. Marshall, A.B., A.M., Garden City, Kan.; Merrill C. Munyan, A.B., Worcester, Mass.; Charles L. Riley, A.B., A.M., Chapel Hill; William D. Overdyke, A.B., A.M., Shreveport, La.; and Dade Sparks, A.B., A.M., Saltillo, Texas. Appointments to scholarships in history, valued at \$350 to \$400 each, have been made to Harper L. Garrett of Greenville, S. C., and Lucien E. Roberts of Dallas, Ga. The following persons have been named as graduate assistants in history at stipends ranging from \$450 to \$750: John



C. Adams, A.B., Philadelphia, Pa.; George V. Irons, M.A., Rome, Ga.; Louis C. Nolan, Ph.B., Morganton; and Gustave A. Nuernberger, A.B., Buffalo, N. Y.

Joseph Hewes Day was celebrated with appropriate exercises at Edenton on April 28. In the morning a handsome monument on the courthouse green, erected by the United States government to the memory of Joseph Hewes, Edenton merchant, revolutionary statesman and signer of the Declaration of Independence, was dedicated at exercises participated in by Judge Frances D. Winston, Mayor Joseph L. Wiggins, Sol Bloom, M. L. Hewes, Brigadier-General Louis H. Bash, E. B. Jeffress, Rev. R. B. Drane, and Rear-Admiral W. D. MacDougall. A colonial luncheon was served to 200 honor guests in the panelled room of the historic court house; and in the afternoon an historic pageant was presented on the green, depicting important events in the life of Hewes and in the revolutionary period.

At the Armory-Auditorium in Charlotte on the evening of May 20, a public celebration was held under the sponsorship of the twelve patriotic societies of Charlotte commemorating jointly the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington and the one hundred fifty-seventh anniversary of the Mecklenburg declaration of independence. The exercises were under the direction of President Harry C. Northop, of the Mecklenburg Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution. Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, delivered an address on George Washington.

The Battle of Elizabethtown Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. M. B. McAulay, regent, dedicated a marker on May 27 at Weyman Church in Columbus County to the memory of Major General Robert Howe of the Revolution. The 36-inch square aluminum marker was presented by Mrs. McAulay and accepted by Mrs. Sydney P. Cooper, State Regent. Senator Cameron Morrison delivered the principal address.

*The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, number 4, January, 1932, maintains the high scholarly standards of the prev-



ious numbers. The following is the table of contents: W. Neil Franklin, "Virginia and the Cherokee Indian Trade, 1673-1752"; Samuel C. Williams, "Fort Robinson on the Holston"; I. W. Preston, "The Netherland Inn at Old Kingsport"; Marguerite B. Hamer, "John Rhea of Tennessee"; Powell Moore, "The Political Background of the Revolt Against Jackson in Tennessee"; Verton M. Queener, "William G. Brownlow as an Editor"; James W. Holland, "The Building of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad"; W. B. Hesseltine, "Tennessee's Invitation to Carpet-Baggers"; Laura E. Luttrell, "Writings on Tennessee History, 1930-1931"; Philip M. Hamer, "Letters of Governor William Blount"; Samuel C. Williams, "The Executive Journal of Governor John Sevier"; notes and news; and list of members.

The American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council have recently published a 184-page volume, *Survey of Activities of American Agencies in Relation to Materials for Research in the Social Sciences and the Humanities*, compiled by Franklin F. Holbrook, for the Joint Committee on Materials for Research. The portion of the survey dealing with North Carolina is as follows:

333. DUKE UNIVERSITY, Durham, is developing its library with special reference to Southern history, Southern literature, and Hispanic-American history. It recently acquired by purchase a collection of Peruvian material from the library of Don Perez de Volosco, and is collecting large quantities of source material such as newspapers, periodicals, manuscripts, and documents, for the acquisition of which special appropriations are made each year.

Among its publications are the *South Atlantic Quarterly*; the *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, a quarterly which offers much bibliographical material, including such articles as that on recent additions to the university's Brazilian collection, in the issue for February, 1931; the series of *Historical Papers*, begun by the Historical Society of Trinity College, in 1897, which include documentary material, a recent number, 1929, being devoted to the publication of a collection of letters; and a *Bulletin*, issued a few times each year, in which has been published a list of the books in the library, now in the possession of the university, of Paul Hamilton Hayne, an ante bellum Southern poet. A list of the newspapers in the university library has been prepared for publication in the *Bulletin*, but publication is being postponed owing to the influx of additions to the collection.



Facilities for the photostatic reproduction of materials in the university's possession are available in the vicinity.

334. THE HISTORICAL FOUNDATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCHES, Montreat, was established in 1927 by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, upon its acceptance of a collection of materials gathered in the preceding quarter century by Dr. S. M. Tenney, of Texas. The collection, now permanently housed in ample fireproof quarters, includes records, reports, periodicals, manuscripts, books, pictures, and other material relating to the history of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches with their branches the world over, but with emphasis centering in Canada and the United States, particularly in the South. Official records have been regarded as of first importance, and the foundation has had remarkable success in assembling the most extensive collection of manuscript and official records of their character known in America. The periodical files, judged by the *Union List of Serials*, are among the most extensive in the United States. The collection of catalogs and materials pertaining to the schools, colleges, and seminaries of the churches represented is in excess of that found in the Library of Congress, and is probably the best in the United States. There is also a large collection of first editions and rare materials on Scotland and the Puritan period of English history.

The foundation cooperates with other libraries, the Presbyterian and Reformed Historical Societies of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Lancaster, Pennsylvania; New Brunswick, New Jersey; New York City; England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, etc. No special effort is made to avoid duplication, the aim being to extend collecting activities into new fields. It uses the best library preservatives, applying different kinds for board, cloth, and leather bindings; and efforts are being put forth to apply modern methods of preserving valuable worn manuscripts, such as early deeds.

Until now no catalogs or guides have been issued by the foundation, but something of the scope and character of its collections is revealed by the list of its materials relating to Kentucky history, published in the *Filson Club History Quarterly*, April, 1931. The foundation intends to publish a journal in the future, the present depressing conditions hindering that part of the work now. It also hopes eventually to secure photostatic apparatus.

335. THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION, Raleigh, maintains a growing collection of state and county archives, of which the commission becomes official custodian at the option of the heads of the departments or offices of origin; a library relating chiefly to North Carolina history, strongest in political material, and most complete for the 19th century through the Civil War; and a museum of historical objects and pictures. The collection of non-official materials is stimu-



lated with the aid of specially appointed county historians and by the widespread distribution of a pamphlet carrying a special appeal.

Accessions of archives during the biennium, 1928-1930, included, besides over 800 documents from state offices, 655 volumes and more than 5,000 documents from 36 counties; of newspapers, 3,617 issues of 85 different publications, including photostats of missing numbers secured from the Library of Congress and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; of maps, photostats from the Clements and other libraries; of manuscripts, numerous originals or photostats of letters, diaries, organization files, and the like; and of photostats and transcripts of unpublished North Carolina material in English archives, 3,091 pages of transcripts and 23 photostats of records in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. The task of securing the last named class of material, begun in 1922, is now almost completed, having yielded a total of 10,050 pages of transcripts and 1,347 photostats.

A full-time restorer of manuscripts is employed, who follows the current practices of the Library of Congress.

The commission is preparing bound volumes of indexes and abstracts of its entire collection of marriage bonds. It occasionally publishes such guides as a handbook of county records (1925), and a one-volume calendar of twelve of its manuscript collections (1926), and is now at work on the compilation, for publication eventually, of a check list of North Carolina newspaper files, 1751-1876, in the principal libraries of North Carolina and other states.

It is publishing, at the rate of at least one a year, a series of volumes now running to more than twenty, containing letters, papers, and public records relating to important men, early settlements, religious groups, public education, and kindred subjects; and by recent authorization of the state legislature is commencing the editing, for publication, of the correspondence and papers of the governors of North Carolina, a work expected to result eventually in several score of volumes.

Its quarterly, the *North Carolina Historical Review*, regularly includes bibliographical and documentary material relating to North Carolina, and occasionally to the South as a whole, as in its publication, 1926-1929, of a series of articles on the preservation of materials for the history of the several states comprising that section of the country.

336. THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY, Raleigh, maintains files of North Carolina newspapers dating from 1799 and including current issues, and special collections of North Carolina history and of genealogy. It has printed a bibliography of all newspapers, and one of all genealogical material in its possession.

337. THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, Chapel Hill, is actively developing certain special collections in its general library. The latter includes approximately 40,000 titles of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and newspapers, besides several thousand manuscripts in unorganized



form, relating both to the history and to current activities of North Carolina and surrounding states. Another collection, in a separate section of the library, is devoted to rural social economics, including books, pamphlets, and mounted newspaper clippings, all thoroughly classified and kept abreast of current happenings, and embracing many subjects, notably local government and ports and water transportation. The collection centers around North Carolina, but is concerned also with the field at large, both domestic and foreign.

The foregoing collections, together with other material in the library, constitute the nucleus of what it is hoped will become a "National Southern Collection," in which will be gathered all available material relating to the history of the South. The library is making a most determined effort to discover and acquire such material, and Professor Joseph G. deR. Hamilton, of the history department, is now devoting practically all his time to this work. An exposition of and plea for the project, written by Professor Hamilton, appeared in the *Baltimore Sun*, March 4, 1928, and has since been reprinted separately in pamphlet form. The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, established in 1924, is actively promoting the development of these and other research collections.

The *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, prepared in cooperation with the North Carolina Historical Society, include such items as a list of North Carolina newspapers before 1790 available in the University and Historical Commission libraries, and a collection of James A. Graham papers, Vol. 20, Nos. 1 and 2 (1928).

338. Mention may also be made of the Asheville Art Association and Museum, which recently installed its collections of antiquities and of paintings by English, French, and American artists in a new building; the Greensboro Historical Museum; the North Carolina State Museum, Raleigh; and Salem College (Moravian), Winston-Salem, possessor of a special collection of textbooks dating back to 1802.

Something of the background of historical activity in the state is revealed in an article on "The Preservation of North Carolina History," in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, January, 1927.

The North Carolina division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, unveiled a handsome \$10,000 monument on June 2 at Fort Fisher beach below Wilmington, commemorating famous Fort Fisher which kept Wilmington open until January, 1865, as the last Confederate port for blockade-running. Mrs. L. B. Newell of Charlotte, chairman of the Fort Fisher monument committee, presided at the exercises, and Governor O. Max Gardner and Mrs. Glenn Long of Newton, president of the North Carolina division, delivered addresses.



George Washington's visit to Salem in 1791 was reproduced with historical accuracy in Winston-Salem on May 28th in a notable pageant attended by about 15,000 persons. Washington was impersonated by Agnew H. Bahnson, and Governor Alexander Martin by Governor O. Max Gardner.

The city of Farmville held a joint celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of its incorporation and the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington on May 27th. Mrs. T. C. Turnage presided at the morning exercises, at which addresses were delivered by Mayor R. E. Belcher, Dr. J. Y. Joyner, Mrs. J. W. Parker, J. W. Holmes, Associate Justice George W. Connor, Colonel Moss of Fort Bragg, and Lamar Jeffers, a representative of Alabama in the lower house of the United States Congress. In the afternoon a monument was unveiled near Farmville marking the Greenville and Raleigh Plank Road, chartered in 1850, and commemorating Alfred Moye, the first president of the company. Mrs. Charles H. Arrington gave an historical sketch of the road. The marker was presented by Moses Moye and accepted by Dr. A. R. Newsome. In the evening an historical pageant and a colonial ball were held.

Mr. A. T. Robertson, Jr., editor of *The Pinehurst Outlook*, published in the issues of March 5, 12, 19, 26, and April 2, an interesting series of articles describing the historic sites and events in Moore County and grouping them in a series of convenient itineraries for motorists.

North Carolina's priority among the American colonies in sanctioning independence from Great Britain was memorialized in many schools, civic clubs and newspapers on April 12th. On April 12, 1776, the Provincial Congress at Halifax adopted unanimously the "Halifax Resolution" that "the delegates for this Colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other Colonies in declaring Independency."

The following articles in periodicals are noteworthy: Carl L. Weicht, *The Local Historian and the Newspaper* (Minnesota History, March); A. G. Peterson, *The Alexandria Market Prior to the*



*Civil War* (William and Mary College Quarterly, April); Lillian E. Fisher, *American Influence upon the Movement for Mexican Independence* (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, March); Clement Eaton, *The Freedom of the Press in the Upper South* (*ibid.*); Elmer Ellis, *The Silver Republicans in the Election of 1896* (*ibid.*); G. W. Forster, *The Effects of the Present Credit System on Southern Agriculture* (Social Forces, March); George Fort Milton, *The Impeachment of Judge Lynch* (The Virginia Quarterly Review, April); Edwin Mims, *The Function of Criticism in the South* (The South Atlantic Quarterly, April).

The \$15,000 bronze statue of Charles Brantley Aycock, educational governor of North Carolina, by Charles Keck, was unveiled in the National Hall of Statuary in the Capitol at Washington, on May 20th. Addresses were delivered by Dr. J. Y. Joyner, Josephus Daniels, Governor O. Max Gardner, and Representative Lindsay Warren. The General Assembly of 1929 created the Aycock Statue Commission and authorized it to place a statue of Aycock in the only remaining place allotted to North Carolina. The statue of Governor Zebulon Baird Vance was placed in the Hall in 1916.

The North Carolina Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, has issued a 709-page volume, *Roster of Soldiers from North Carolina in the American Revolution, with an Appendix Containing a Collection of Miscellaneous Records*. The edition of one thousand copies, autographed by the State Regent and State Historian, was printed on rag paper by the Seaman Press, Durham. The volume was compiled by the Committee on Compilation and Publication, consisting of Harriett Reed Whitaker of Southern Pines, Gertrude Sloan Hay and Maude Reynolds Snow of Winston-Salem, and Louisa Hall Briggs and Olivia Barkley Gowan of Raleigh. The aim of the committee was to compile the names of those whose revolutionary service in the militia and continental line is established by available source material, printed and manuscript. An alphabetical index of names appears at the end of the volume.

The chief accessions to the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission during the three months period ending with May were: minutes of the Council of State, 1889-1924; Crabtree Jones



Collection of correspondence, family papers, pamphlets, almanacs, and pictures, 1771-1930, deposited by Mrs. Kimbrough Jones of Raleigh; a political broadside (1836) of Kimbrough Jones, deposited by Mr. William N. H. Jones of Raleigh; and 52 Onslow County inventories, 1782-1790.

The second issue of the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Record*, published quarterly by Mr. Clarence Griffin of Forest City, was issued in April. Its table of contents comprises "The Development of North Carolina Railroads," by Fred A. Olds; "A History of Old Tryon County, North Carolina," by Clarence Griffin; "Tryon County Wills, 1769-1779"; "North Carolina Had South's First Cotton Mill"; "More About the Hillsboro Clock," by Frank Nash; editorial comment; genealogical queries; book notes; and late news notes of interest.

Prof. W. C. Jackson, for many years head of the department of history and vice president of North Carolina College for Women at Greensboro, has accepted the deanship of the new school of Public Administration at the University of North Carolina. Prof. B. B. Kendrick, a member of the history department for several years, has been promoted to the vacancy created by the resignation of Professor Jackson.

Mr. Daniel Jay Whitener was awarded the degree of Ph.D. in history by the University of North Carolina in June. The subject of his thesis was "History of the Temperance Movement in North Carolina, 1715-1908."

Duke University awarded the degree of Ph.D. in history in June to the following students whose thesis subjects are listed: Nelson M. Blake, "William Malone of Virginia: Builder, Soldier, and Insurgent"; Thomas D. Clark, "Railway Development in the Old Southwest to 1860"; Elizabeth H. Davidson, "The Development of Child Labor Legislation in the Southern States"; and Rodolph O. Rivera, "The Life of Santander." The successful candidates for the M.A. degree, with their subjects were as follows: P. T. Atchley, "Peace Movements in the Confederacy"; H. L. Garrett, "Lincoln and Fort Sumter"; Mary J. Lark, "Law of Manumission and Its Interpretation in the South Atlantic States"; Gustave A. Nuermberger, "The



Achievements of the Pan American Movement"; Jane Richards, "The Foundation of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina"; Mildred P. Smith, "Some Phases of the Education of Women in the South Prior to 1860"; and P. G. Stradley, "Newspaper Criticism of the Confederate Administration."

At the June commencement, the University of North Carolina awarded the degrees of Ph.D. in economics and in geology to Hershal Luther Macon and Martha Elizabeth Norburn, whose thesis subjects were, respectively, "A Fiscal History of North Carolina, 1776-1860" and "The Influence of the Physiographic Features of Western North Carolina on the Settlement and Development of the Region."

Professor Richard H. Shryock of Duke University will be on leave of absence from that institution next year. He has received a grant of \$750 from the Social Science Research Council toward the completion of his studies in the social aspects of the Public Health Movement. Professor Eber M. Carroll, who has been abroad during the last year, returns to Duke University in September. Assistant Professor Dorothy L. Mackay has received a grant-in-aid from the American Council of Learned Societies for her investigation in the origins of the University of Orleans. She will spend the summer in Europe.

The General Education Board has granted \$30,000 to the University of North Carolina Library for the addition of catalogues of several foreign libraries, which will make available to scholars in Chapel Hill, through inter-library loans, the contents of these libraries. This apparatus will extend vastly the research facilities of the University.

In the May issue of *The Archive* (Duke University) the leading article is "Washington and Aeronautics—The First Balloon Ascension in America," by Dr. Archibald Henderson. A hitherto unpublished letter of John Steele, dated January 9, 1793, describes the balloon ascension in Philadelphia of the Frenchman, Jean Pierre Blanchard, on January 9. Dr. Henderson is one of the editors of *The Washington Atlas*, and has done other editorial work for the Washington Bicentennial Commission.



## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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Dr. A. R. Newsome is secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.



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## IRON-MAKING—A FORGOTTEN INDUSTRY OF NORTH CAROLINA

BY LESTER J. CAPPON

In the story of the new industrial South, North Carolina has played a leading rôle. She has reaped the fruits of an early awakening to the potentialities of manufacturing in her inviting piedmont area and she has suffered the first social upheaval that seems inevitably to accompany the development of industrialism at certain stages. So flourishing, until recently, has her textile industry become that the existence of an earlier manufacturing enterprise in the same region has been almost completely forgotten; yet, if, a century ago, her pulse was quickened by the stimulus of industry, the smoke of numerous iron forges and furnaces as well as the hum of cotton mills bore witness to the young industrial revolution.

Bog ore, exploited earliest by the English colonists in the lowlands of the tidewater region, was the basis for considerable iron-making in seventeenth century Virginia, Maryland and New England, but no account of similar activity during the early years of North Carolina has survived, although it is known that small quantities of pig iron were shipped to England in 1728-29 and 1734.<sup>1</sup> The first iron works of record were erected in the piedmont. Scattered over this wide area two principal kinds of ore, often in close proximity, have been left as a heritage of geological ages. Magnetite, hard and black, containing when pure over 70 per cent metallic iron, was formed as veins in the old crystalline rocks in both the piedmont and the mountain regions. This ore, though rendered less valuable by its combination with titanium, ranked highest in

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<sup>1</sup> J. L. Bishop, *History of American Manufactures, 1608-1860* (Philadelphia, 1861), I, 626, 628; C. D. Wright, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States* (New York, 1895), 99; J. M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages* (Philadelphia, 1892), 105-06.



iron content and was easily worked.<sup>2</sup> Limonite, a brown ore sometimes yielding well over 5 per cent metallic iron, though rarely so rich in southern deposits, was found in widely scattered pockets, associated with limestone, or with clay and chert when the limestone had been worn away.<sup>3</sup> In the upper valley of the Cape Fear River these ores were first exploited a few years before the American Revolution.

Undoubtedly the imminence of war first stimulated to any marked degree the erection of iron works in this district. The manufacture of any iron product except pig and bar iron had been forbidden by Great Britain in 1750,<sup>4</sup> and in reply to this act of Parliament, it was reported from North Carolina to the Duke of Bedford "that there are no slitting mills nor such forges as are described in this Act in this province."<sup>5</sup> Although in the mid-'fifties, some of the planters expressed an intention of erecting forges, they had not yet discovered ore deposits large enough to encourage them, nor a good supply of limestone for flux,<sup>6</sup> and as late as 1764 the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were informed that "no forges or bloomerries were yet erected, because of sloth or poverty."<sup>7</sup> Lack of capital and the risk involved in undertaking a new industry were primary factors in forestalling its inception until the colonial legislature took action to encourage it.<sup>8</sup> By the end of 1770 two furnaces were in operation on branches of the Deep River in Orange County, with prospects of a third near Salisbury,<sup>9</sup> but apparently the interest of the legislators soon languished.

Meantime relations with the mother country were growing critical and with rumors of war in the air, the question of available resources for development now commanded the attention of public men. The Provincial Congress of 1775 offered bounties of from 100 to 500 pounds for the first rolling and slitting mill to prepare iron for nails, for the first steel furnace, or the first furnace for pig iron and castings.<sup>10</sup> When the Congress convened, there were

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Bagley, *Magnetic Iron Ores of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina*, N. C. Geological and Economic Survey, *Bulletin*, No. 32 (Raleigh, 1923), Ch. iii.

<sup>3</sup> W. S. Bagley, *Deposits of Brown Iron Ores (Brown Hematites) in Western North Carolina*, N. C. Geological and Economic Survey, *Bulletin*, No. 31 (Raleigh, 1925).

<sup>4</sup> 23 George II, Ch. xxix. Cf. G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765* (New York, 1907), 197-99.

<sup>5</sup> *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, W. L. Saunders, (ed.) (10 vols., Raleigh, 1886-1890), IV, 1027-28.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 316, 356.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 613, 1029.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 898-949; VIII, 10, 154.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 496.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 216-19.



already in operation on the Deep River in Chatham County<sup>11</sup> works which the local authorities were rendering more accessible by connecting them with near-by roads and waterways.<sup>12</sup> To John Wilcox, the proprietor of this establishment, the State turned in its emergency. In the spring of 1776 a committee of the Congress advised making an agreement with him to rent or purchase the works (consisting of a bloomery and forge and a furnace under construction ten miles distant) and, having repaired them, to hire workmen to make war materials, with £5,000 drawn on the colonial treasury.<sup>13</sup>

The long negotiations that followed revealed the usual lack of governmental foresight in regulating industrial problems. The Iron Works Committee found it most advantageous to aid Wilcox in completing his furnace by hiring Negroes for him and advancing him £250, providing he execute a deed of trust for the furnace.<sup>14</sup> James Milles, a member of the committee, with visions of making this region "the Sheffield of North Carolina," anticipated a slitting and rolling mill as well as a steel furnace.<sup>15</sup> Since skilled workmen in the foundry trade were scarce in the State, Milles was sent to Philadelphia "to contract with persons skilled in the art of casting pig iron, cannon, cannon balls, and hollow ware."<sup>16</sup> To his dismay he found iron workers at a premium in every branch of the trade and skilled labor obtaining such high wages at home that he returned with only one workman, unskilled in the casting of cannon.<sup>17</sup>

Late autumn saw the furnace completed, ready to go in blast, with money advanced and slaves and a few skilled workmen on hand. Wilcox and his partner William England agreed to furnish for two years all castings of cannon, balls and hollow ware necessary for the service of the country, at the market price of cast iron, deducting the charge of casting.<sup>18</sup> From the very start the State had desired to purchase the works, but Wilcox and England preferred to retain control and enjoy governmental aid at the same time. Not until February, 1777, did the Congress prevail upon them to sell the works and adjoining lands for £5,000. Spurred

<sup>11</sup> Chatham County Court, Minute Book (MS.), Nov. 15, 1775.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1775, May, 1776.

<sup>13</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X, 540.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 608, 647-48.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 649-50.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 693-94.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 806, 812. It was reported to the North Carolina Council of Safety in September, 1776, that "to get a man, a light waggon and two horses had to be bought."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 946-47, 992-96.



on by the words of her delegates in the Continental Congress<sup>19</sup> and by dreams of a well equipped plant to produce war materials, the State planned to erect another furnace (on Rocky River), a slitting mill, and a boring mill to finish cannon. Yet the Provincial Congress granted only £1,000 for operating expenses and paid out only £1,500 for new capital expenditures. Since the first furnace still remained idle in mid summer, for want of labor and raw materials on hand, the State was willing to consider the return of the works to Wilcox who was dissatisfied with the purchase money.<sup>20</sup>

Misfortune, however, dogged the enterprise in the failure of the hearth-stones to stand the heat of the furnace and in the scarcity of water in summer, while the moulds stood ready for casting the belated cannon and ammunition. The withdrawal of over £4,000 on the public treasury in favor of Wilcox by the spring of 1777 and the intermittent failures of the furnace to function properly no doubt retarded the legislature in its restoration of the works to him the following year.<sup>21</sup> In spite of government subsidies he must have lost money in the sale and recovery of the establishment<sup>22</sup> and in the vicissitudes attending their operation, and, to cap the climax, the furnace was so badly damaged by "a very great fresh[et]" in June, 1780, that he was unable to repair it again.<sup>23</sup>

The hazards of industrial pioneering are strikingly revealed in this experience of Wilcox. While the intrusion of the State accounted for some of the trouble, the lack of technical knowledge in operating the furnace was doubtless fundamental in the failure of this phase of the enterprise. The smelting and casting of pig iron involved problems quite different from the forging of bar iron produced in a bloomery by alternate heating and hammering of the metal. During most of the Revolution the bloomery and forge on the Deep River were evidently running, for 'the old roads in the vicinity were kept in repair and new roads were projected.<sup>24</sup> So essential was iron-making to carrying on the final campaign,

<sup>19</sup> William Hooper, North Carolina delegate, wrote (Oct., 1776), "Husbandry, manufactures, the very means of our subsistence must depend upon internal supplies of iron tools, implements and Utensils, our trade with Britain being altogether interrupted and elsewhere in great measure—the expense . . . under such Circumstances ought not to weigh even as a feather." (*Ibid.*, X, 869.)

<sup>20</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, Walter Clark, (ed.) 15 vols. (Winston, Raleigh, and Goldsboro, 1895-1905), XI, 387-88, 394-96, 487-88.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 544, 575-78; XII, 629, 697-98; XXII, 916.

<sup>22</sup> A. McClain wrote to Gov. Caswell of North Carolina, Feb. 22, 1777, ". . . £5,000 is a mere trifle to pay to Wilcox and the public is the gainer." *Ibid.*, XI, 394-95.

<sup>23</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XV, 214.

<sup>24</sup> Chatham County Court, Minute Book (MS.), Aug. 14, 1777; Aug. 13, Nov. 12, 1778; Feb. 11, May 10, Aug. 12, 1779.



which culminated at Yorktown in the autumn of 1781, that the State again tried to encourage Wilcox and England by letting them choose twenty men to be exempted from military duty in order to manufacture iron.<sup>25</sup>

A similar inducement was offered to laborers who might be employed in the more remote iron works of David Allen in Surry County.<sup>26</sup> It was during the latter years of the Revolution that the first works were undertaken in this western region, especially in the upper valleys of the Yadkin and the Catawba. South Carolina had led the way in the Catawba Valley by the establishment of Buffington's Iron Works near King's Mountain,<sup>27</sup> and those of Messrs. William Hill and Isaac Hayne "in the New Acquisition" on the right bank of the river.<sup>28</sup> The discovery of these ore deposits in the Carolinas soon gave rise to petitions for aid in erecting other forges and furnaces,<sup>29</sup> but with the destruction of both these pioneer works by the British in 1780,<sup>30</sup> further development was postponed until the revival of prosperity in the late 'eighties. In fine, North Carolina found herself dependent upon Virginia for a substantial part of the iron necessary for war materials,<sup>31</sup> and took legislative action to encourage its importation shortly before hostilities ceased.<sup>32</sup>

It was inevitable that an industry, almost wholly a response to war demands, should languish with the restoration of peace. During the lean years of the Confederation iron-making was practically non-existent in North Carolina. A new era, however, was just beyond the horizon and the quickening interest in western lands as well as the growing need for domestic manufactures started the industry afresh. The ore deposits of the Catawba Valley and its western tributaries appeared most inviting and while news of the Federal Convention in Philadelphia doubtless held the attention of many a Carolinian, a few venturesome pioneers were staking their meager capital in new iron works. In Rutherford County road improve-

<sup>25</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XVII, 971-72.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 852, 917.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. A. S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Documents Relating to the History of South Carolina during the Revolutionary War* (Columbia, 1908), pp. 3-4; same ed., *Journal of the House of Representatives of S. C.*, . . . 1782 (Columbia, 1916), *passim*; *S. C. Acts*, 1778, Ch. 1065.

<sup>28</sup> "Articles of Co-Partnership," Mar. 3, 1778, Brevard Papers (MS.), in North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh.

<sup>29</sup> *Eg.*, Wm. Porter of Rutherford County, *State Records of North Carolina*, XXII, 895.

<sup>30</sup> Gen. Joseph Graham to Judge A. D. Murphey, 1820, *State Records of North Carolina*, XIX, 984-85; J. B. Landrum, *History of Spartanburg County [South Carolina]* (Atlanta, 1900), pp. 153-54.

<sup>31</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XIV, 377-78; XV, 345.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, 818 ff.



ments for the benefit of Slone's establishment were in progress,<sup>33</sup> and by the summer of 1787 the court had granted James English, a Pennsylvania iron master, "full privilege to Build a Damm, Iron Works and Mill on Second Broad River at . . . Tumbling Shoals."<sup>34</sup> While the forge was under construction English and his partner Jeremiah Early turned to the State for aid at the close of the year,<sup>35</sup> and their petition along with those of other ambitious pioneers resulted in an act passed in 1788 "to encourage the building of iron works in this State."<sup>36</sup> To every set of works erected the State granted as a bounty 3,000 acres of vacant land unfit for cultivation; if the works went into operation within three years of the grant and produced 5,000 weight of iron, the land was to be exempted from taxation for a decade.

In a sense, this legislation was the basis for increasing activity throughout a wide area for a generation. The opportunity to acquire free land on what appeared to be easy terms doubtless lured many an incapable man into a venture foredoomed to failure. On the other hand, the act provided the proper stimulus for the exploitation of those rich mineral resources recently discovered in the western piedmont. Throughout the 'nineties and the early 1800's numerous small forges arose, like those of Martin's and Perkins' in Stokes County who claimed over 2,500 acres of bounty lands containing several ore banks and a valuable growth of timber.<sup>37</sup> However generous the State could afford to be in the granting of lands for this purpose, the loaning of money to promote industry was quite another question. Even the erection of a slitting mill which one Jonathan Haynes, iron master, argued "would . . . be productive of utility in the greatest as well as an essential advantage to the Iron Works in general," did not move the legislature to advance the £500 required.<sup>38</sup> Ready cash was scarcely to be found and the rising industrialist relied perforce upon his natural business ability and his strong right arm.

<sup>33</sup> Rutherford County Court, Minute Book (MS.), April, 1787.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, July, 1787.

<sup>35</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XX, 183, 359.

<sup>36</sup> H. Potter, J. L. Taylor and B. Yancey, comp., *Laws of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1821), II, 592-93.

<sup>37</sup> Stokes County Court, Minute Book (MS.), Mar. 10, June 8, 1786. In the same county were Keyser's and Hill's bloomeries and Moore's Iron Works, while in the neighboring counties of Rockingham, Guilford and Wilkes were similar isolated forges. (*Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1795; J. B. Pearse, *A Concise History of Iron Manufacture*. . . . (Philad., 1876), p. 90; W. W. Winterbotham, *Historical, Geographical* . . . *View of the American U. S.* (London, 1795), III, p. 213; Denison Olmsted, *Report on the Geology of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1825 and 1827), pt. II, p. 118.)

<sup>38</sup> North Carolina Legislative Papers (MSS.), Dec. 5, 1796; see also Petition of Jonas Frost, Nov. 21, 1803.



It was in Lincoln County that iron-making developed with most promise and fulfilled the dreams of its founders. Here within a decade after the act of 1788 five families were engaged in the manufacture of iron, all of them inter-related and destined practically to control the industry of the North Carolina piedmont for three generations. A few miles east of Lincolnton, the county seat, was the "Big Ore Bank," which Peter Forney and three associates obtained in 1789 after a jury had examined the tract and found it unfit for cultivation. Forney soon purchased the interests of his partners and in the course of the next two years sold part to Major John Davidson and to Davidson's sons-in-law, Alexander Brevard and Joseph Graham, both officers in the Revolutionary army. The early years of the 'nineties saw activity in iron-making grow apace as Captain Brevard moved his family from Iredell County to Lincoln and built Mount Tirzah Forge on Leeper's Creek, while General Graham migrated from Mecklenburg County and established himself at Vesuvius Furnace, then building on land adjoining Brevard's.<sup>39</sup> In 1795 they bought out the interest of Forney who continued to operate independently works of his own at Mt. Welcome, along with agricultural pursuits which went hand in hand with iron-making.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile these new industrialists had become acquainted with another who had acquired a valuable site for his works near High Shoals on the South Fork of the Catawba. This was John Fulenwider, for 15 years entry-taker of Lincoln County, a position which afforded him intimate knowledge of the most desirable lands, mineral and agricultural, in the district.<sup>41</sup>

So firmly was the manufacture of iron established here by these pioneers who learned the practice of furnace and forge by crude empirical methods that the industry persisted years after its best markets had disappeared in the ever-quickenening current of economic change. The flourishing condition of this business during the early

<sup>39</sup> W. R. Graham, *Gen. Joseph Graham and His Papers on North Carolina Revolutionary History* (Raleigh, 1904), pp. 136-47; C. L. Hunter, *Sketches of Western North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1877), pp. 236-37, 262-63. According to Hunter "Forney began building his iron works in 1787 . . . and, as recorded in a small account book, produced hammered iron in his forge on Aug. 28, 1788." (P. 263.)

It is not to be inferred that other men were not interested in iron-making or actually engaged in this pursuit. Land was entered for this purpose by Henry and Daniel Bullinger in 1794 and by Jacob Bullinger in 1795. Lincoln County Court, Minute Book (MS.) Jan., 1794, and Apr., 1795. Mention of Lincoln Forge and Washington Furnace, sold by John Sloan to Joseph Atkinson, occurred in Oct., 1793. *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Graham, *Gen. Joseph Graham*, pp. 137-38.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. John Fulenwider's Will, (MS.) probated in Lincoln County Court in 1826. (Will Book, I, 46.) By inference, the Columbia Iron Works mentioned were very probably the same as those listed in J. P. Lesley, *The Iron Manufacturer's Guide to the Furnaces, Forges and Rolling Mills of the U. S.*, (New York, 1859), 75. The High Shoal Forge was mentioned in Lincoln County Court, Minute Book (MS.), Oct., 1804.



decades of the nineteenth century is to be credited partly to the fact that it was a sort of family affair in which the position of iron-master won distinction worthy of being perpetuated. The association of Graham and Brevard came, as we have seen, through their common father-in-law, John Davidson; while through the sons of Peter Forney, the Brevards were related by marriage to the Fulenwiders. Something of that feeling of pride which prompted the old man to begin his will "I, John Fulenwider, Iron Master of the County of Lincoln, State of North Carolina,"<sup>42</sup> must have been instilled likewise in his sons and in Capt. Brevard's sons and grandsons, who continued some of the works even after the Civil War. The early years of prosperity, however, had a significant bearing upon contemporary economic conditions quite aside from the personal element.

With the rapid extension of the plantation system through the upper Carolina piedmont after 1800, as a result of the increasing profitableness of cotton-growing, new lands for the cultivation of the staple were most desired. In Lincoln and neighboring counties the iron ore deposits were an added inducement to settlers, but the risks of iron-making were great and the returns uncertain, compared with those of cotton cultivation during this period of expanding markets. Nor did such conditions give rise to a manufacturing element in the modern sense of the term. An iron-master was for many decades essentially a planter himself, dividing his efforts between two phases of domestic industry with a versatility that seems amazing in the present age of specialization. The economic self-sufficiency of the southern plantation was always a relative matter, even on the frontier, and since plantations distant from the iron deposits also needed metal goods, the ambitious iron-master was awake to the opportunity of enlarging his sphere of business and building up trade with the outside world. In seeking distant customers, however, the upland industrialist was confronted by the tidewater merchant with his imported wares, and the age-old rivalry for intermediate markets ensued.

How the remote piedmont iron-masters managed to compete with the well established manufacturers and merchants of the coast may be gathered from the activity of the Brevards and Grahams who coordinated the management of the iron works with that of their

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<sup>42</sup> Lincoln County, Will Book (MS.) I, p. 46 (1826).



agricultural interests.<sup>43</sup> About the beginning of each year the furnace was blown in and kept in operation continuously until late spring or early summer, producing castings in the form of skillets, pots, pans, dog-irons, and ovens, while the forge turned out tools and implements. Spring work in the fields and around the barns and cottages made iron "suitable for implements of husbandry . . . most in demand." Water power was greatest in the spring and more slaves were available to assist in iron-making at this time of the year than in the busy harvest season of cotton-picking, baling, and hauling.

By establishing a good reputation for his metal Captain Brevard expanded this trade into South Carolina where, at Camden on the Catawba River, his brother Joseph, a prominent lawyer and judge, acted as his agent. Not only did Joseph Brevard store the iron wares pending a favorable market, and keep on the watch for customers, but he was also informed on prices in Charleston and elsewhere in order to send advance word to the Lincoln works on the trend of the market. He advised:

In the summer after the crop is laid by, there is little occasion for iron untill the latter end of the year, when the land is again begun to be broke up, unless it is for Boatbuilding; and those people who are able to build Boats generally buy iron by the quantity in Charleston and bring it up in their Boats, the freight not standing them in anything. But if you could afford to undersell the Charleston price, you would find a ready sale for all you could spare.<sup>44</sup>

Wares imported at Charleston from northern iron works and from abroad were shipped up the Catawba as far as Camden every spring to supply the plantations of the valley. Likewise the Brevards and Grahams transported their goods down the valley by road or river, to and beyond Camden, ever watchful to make the most of a dry season when the river was tardy in rising sufficiently to allow boats to ascend. New roads were being projected into South Carolina,<sup>45</sup> and the Lincoln works were not so far distant that wagons could not be successfully used in carrying their goods to Camden in less time than the four weeks which Charleston merchants had

<sup>43</sup> The Brevard Papers (MSS. in North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh), covering in considerable detail the period 1796-ca. 1830, are the source for the following exposition. See also Graham, *Gen. Joseph Graham*, 138-41.

<sup>44</sup> Brevard Papers (MSS.), Sept. 5, 1797.

<sup>45</sup> Lincoln County Court, Minute Book (MS.), April, 1808.



to allow to market their goods and return. The opportunity to sell in the local market in advance of outside competition was not to be overlooked at a time when reports of prices in the iron marts of the country were infrequently received.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to this business, the iron-masters were visited every year by traveling merchants who brought imported food and clothing, house furnishings and novelties, and news from foreign states and countries. Their goods, which added to the comforts of the plantation, were exchanged for iron and iron wares. In a country where hard money was scarce, payment was either made in kind or long postponed before cash was forthcoming. Bar iron was a medium of exchange in some regions, just as tobacco was in others, and an iron-master of high repute could secure extended credit on his product.

Slave labor of the plantation was used for most of the tasks about the iron works and the proprietor was kept informed as to the status of the slave market. In 1804 Joseph Brevard wrote to his brother that

. . . the average price for young slaves was about 300 dollars. To pick them 350 d<sup>s</sup>. was asked. I have been led to believe the average price will decrease to 250—or 200 doll<sup>s</sup>.—but this last is said to be lower than the West India market. I am disposed to think that you may purchase northward negroes on better terms at present than Africans: but I believe they are not to be preferred. . . .

The slaves were usually assigned to specific tasks, such as cutting wood for charcoal or hauling the ore to the furnace, and those of exceptional ability were trained for such skilled works as forging the metal. That these Negroes were regarded as an integral part of the iron works is borne out in the sale of John Davidson's share of Mount Tirzah Forge and Vesuvius Furnace in 1804 to Joseph Graham and Alexander Brevard who received 12 slaves along with "all the Cattle, Horses, waggons, &c., Smith Tools, Forge Hammers & . . . Furnace utensils. . . ."<sup>47</sup> Apparently the economy of this labor system was unchallenged at the time and a generation

<sup>46</sup> In 1812 when rolled iron was selling at 10 cents per pound in Philadelphia—Brevard Papers, Dec. 4— and at the forge in North Carolina—Account Book of a Forge (MSS.), 1810-14, in North Carolina Historical Commission, merchants in the towns were forcing the price considerably below that figure.

<sup>47</sup> Lincoln County Court, Minute Book (MS.), Jan. 1805. Similarly, John Fulenwider stipulated in his will that certain Negroes [having] "become in a great measure useless, . . . [should] remain at the forge," his son "to provide for their comfortable support. . . ." (Lincoln County, Will Book, I, 50.)



later when doubt was raised as to the profitableness of slave labor in manufacturing, Charles Fisher in the state legislature retorted:

. . . It is to the interest of Northern manufacturers to hold these ideas, but that they should be entertained by well-informed persons acquainted with our black population is strange indeed. What branch of mechanics have we in our country in which we do not find negroes often distinguished for their skill and ingenuity? . . . One of the great advantages of black labor is that you can attach it permanently to the establishment by purchase.<sup>48</sup>

To what extent it was profitable in the long run to "attach labor permanently to the establishment" when the manufacturer needed to realize a rapid return on his investment, is open to serious question. The hire of slaves by certain Virginia iron-masters even before 1830 implies an objection to labor as a capital account,<sup>49</sup> and the remark of Representative T. L. Clingman of North Carolina in Congress in 1852 that "in the production of iron either free or slave labor can be obtained at forty to fifty cents per day,"<sup>50</sup> points to the practice of renting slaves in Carolina as well.

While the Lincoln County iron-masters were expanding their business beyond the needs of their plantations, hardy pioneers discovered the rich magnetic ores in the northwestern corner of the State and began to exploit them in a small way. Elisha Mitchell, exploring that region in the late 'twenties, was informed by Col. Meredith Ballou, pioneer settler from Virginia, that the first forge was erected about the year 1807 by one Tarbert.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, the records of Ashe County reveal that both Daniel Dougherty and a Col. Ray were operating iron works in that year and asking for grants of land to promote their endeavors.<sup>52</sup> Ballou, a surveyor and man of influence, owned a large share of the county's valuable ore and became engaged in the industry with his sons some years later.<sup>53</sup> Although at least two furnaces had been erected in this mountainous region before 1810,<sup>54</sup> the isolation and limited needs of the sparse

<sup>48</sup> N. C. House of Commons, *Report on Establishment of Manufacturers* (Raleigh, 1828?), 54-55.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. L. J. Cappon, "Trend of the Southern Iron Industry under the Plantation System," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1929-30), 366.

<sup>50</sup> *DeBow's Review*, XI (1852), 117.

<sup>51</sup> Elisha Mitchell, *Diary of a Geological Town in 1827 and 1828* (University of North Carolina, James Sprunt Historical Monographs, No. 6, Chapel Hill, 1905), 28.

<sup>52</sup> Ashe County Court, Minute Book (MS.), Aug. 10 and Nov. 9, 1807. Dougherty's were called the Helton Iron Works which may have been the predecessor to the Helton Bloomery forge built in 1829, according to J. P. Lesley (*Iron Manufacturer's Guide*, 190).

<sup>53</sup> Mitchell, *Diary*, 26-27, note.

<sup>54</sup> Ashe County Minute Book, (MS.) May 8, 1809.



population determined the forge as the typical iron works of Western North Carolina. By 1830 four were in operation in Ashe County during part of the year; four others had been abandoned or washed away by the spring torrents;<sup>55</sup> and doubtless as many more had produced their little quota of from ten to fifteen tons of bar iron per year and had disappeared unrecorded.

If the early planter tilled his fields with little or no appreciation for scientific method in agriculture, when he turned to manufacturing as a secondary occupation, he was even more of an empiricist. The abundance of natural resources at his command, iron ore and wood, as well as virgin soil, assured him a handsome return on his investment for a number of years, no matter how prodigal his exploitation. That he might have realized a larger profit was scarcely considered during those years of prosperity, even though expert advice was available in printed form for the asking. For in the development of scientific investigation in the South beginning in the 1820's, North Carolina led the way in promoting a geological survey which was duplicated in varying forms in almost every southern state during the *ante-bellum* period. Denison Olmsted, professor of chemistry in the University of North Carolina, suggested to the legislature in 1821 the desirability of such a survey.<sup>56</sup> No action was taken despite the recognized ability of Olmsted,<sup>57</sup> but in 1823 he renewed his proposal, offering to spend his summers in geological field trips with only his traveling expenses paid. The legislature, spurred to action more probably by the discovery of gold in the State than by the modest suggestion of a man of learning, authorized the Board of Agriculture to have a survey made with an appropriation of \$250.00 for four successive years.<sup>58</sup>

The reports of Olmsted and of Elisha Mitchell who succeeded him contained many pertinent observations on the technique of the iron industry in North Carolina and its relation to economic progress. Unless the industry emerged from its wasteful pioneering stage, it could scarcely satisfy a small part of the local needs and do that only haphazardly. The "ponderous state of cinders or slag that

<sup>55</sup> Lesley, *op. cit.*, 190-91.

<sup>56</sup> W. C. Kerr, *Report of . . . Progress . . . 1866-[68]* (North Carolina Geological Survey, Raleigh, 1867-69, p. 7; G. P. Merrill, *The First 100 years of American Geology* (New Haven, 1924), 94-95.

<sup>57</sup> Benjamin Silliman, in his *American Journal of Science and Arts*, V, (1822), 202, declared that "from the known intelligence, zeal and scientific attainments of Prof. Olmstead [*sic*], we cannot doubt that (if adequately incouraged by the local government, and by patriotic individuals), the enterprise will produce very important advantages to science, agriculture, and other useful arts and will prove highly honorable to North Carolina."

<sup>58</sup> N. C. *Acts of Assembly*, 1823, Ch. 14; Kerr, *Report of Progress*, 7.



remain around the old iron works" bore witness to the prodigality of the production of blooms direct from high grade ore which, with an extravagant consumption of fuel, the largest item in the cost account, yielded only 25 per cent iron.<sup>59</sup> In Stokes and Surry counties, where high-grade limestone was close at hand for the manufacture of pig iron and castings, one-third of the market price of refined iron was absorbed by the cost of the excessive amount of charcoal used to fire the bloomery. The expansion of such a technique would soon deplete the forests, and already the effect of this want of economy and skill was to allow "British manufacturers to undersell us at our very doors."<sup>60</sup> Mitchell commended the iron masters of Lincoln County for the "skill and judgment with which the business is conducted. The demand at present [*ca.* 1827] is no greater than this single county may supply: low priced European iron continues to exclude domestic manufacture from the market along the seaboard."<sup>61</sup>

Lincoln County, as Mitchell predicted,<sup>62</sup> maintained her leadership in iron production which, by the mid 'twenties, had earned a very creditable reputation. In 1823 according to General Graham, ten forges and four furnaces were making about 900 tons of bar valued at 6¼ cents per pound and 200 tons of castings at 5 cents.<sup>63</sup> John Fulenwider, who died in 1826, bequeathed a handsome patrimony of plantations, iron works, slaves and stock on hand, worth more than \$50,000 to his four sons,<sup>64</sup> and when his old friend Capt. Brevard followed him four years later, he too entrusted his extensive estate including the iron works to his four sons.<sup>65</sup>

The cultural and religious interest of these hardy planters and industrial pioneers are reflected in the special mention which the one made of "the small library, including books of a Religious, Scientific and amusing Description,"<sup>66</sup> and the bequest of the other of \$500, "the interest of which is to go as it may be collected to the payment of Ministers of the Gospel for preaching Sermons at or near our family Grave yard. . . ."<sup>67</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Denison Olmsted, *Report on the Geology of North Carolina*, pt. II, (Raleigh, 1827), 103.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>61</sup> Elisha Mitchell, *Report on the Geology of North Carolina*, pt. III, (Raleigh, 1828?), 26.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Olmsted, *Report on Geology of North Carolina*, pt. II, 119.

<sup>64</sup> Lincoln County Will Book, I, 46-52. See announcement of sale of tracts of land and iron by order of his will, in *Catawba Journal* (Charlotte, N. C.), Feb. 6, 1827.

<sup>65</sup> Lincoln County Will Book, I, 166-72.

<sup>66</sup> Will of John Fulenwider, *loc. cit.*

<sup>67</sup> Will of Alexander Brevard, *loc. cit.*



The Forneys and the Grahams likewise maintained an interest in the iron business, the latter being associated in part with Robert A. and Ephriam A. Brevard who assumed the major responsibility in their late father's business.<sup>68</sup> Ore was always plentiful, but by the 'forties the problem of timber supply for charcoal was causing some concern, for both the Brevards and John D. Graham were competing for the acquisition of the 400-acre wooded tract of William Fulenwider who was forced to sell.<sup>69</sup> The expense of operations at Vesuvius and Rehoboth furnaces, Mt. Tirzah and Spring Hill forges, however, had been reduced somewhat by the discovery of limestone near the works, whereas formerly it had been hauled twenty-five to thirty miles from the foot of King's Mountain.<sup>70</sup>

Although iron-making in this region had resulted in considerable fortunes to a few individuals, its full potentialities were never realized. Closely allied to the plantation system as a subsidiary enterprise, it failed to reach out beyond the limited markets of the local area. Primitive technique and a general disregard for scientific improvements, already referred to, were both a cause and a result of this comparative isolation. Another important factor was the lack of anything approaching adequate transportation. Although railroad construction began early in the Carolinas, it advanced tardily and did not reach the area of iron manufacturing until the 'fifties.<sup>71</sup> The ordinary country road fell into wretched condition during the rainy season, but since the rivers were not navigable so far upstream, wagons were still indispensable. As late as 1851, when the railroad era was under way, a Western Plank Road Company was incorporated and among those who subscribed at \$50 a share was E. A. Brevard. He agreed to pay for his fifteen shares on condition that the new road pass by Rehoboth Furnace.<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile, it was predicted that the coming of the railroads would bring improvement in the iron trade. "Open up of a cheap and rapid communication with Charleston," wrote James W. Osborn to J. D. DeBow (Sept. 29, 1849), "and millions of dollars instead of a few thousand may be employed. It will be converted at home into

<sup>68</sup> J. M. Forney's Mt. Welcome Forge, "by virtue of a deed of trust" was offered for sale in July, 1840. *Western Whig Banner* [Lincolnton, N. C.], July 18, 1840.

<sup>69</sup> Letter of J. A. Brevard to Robert A. Brevard, Mar. 21, 1842 (MS.) Brevard papers, II.

<sup>70</sup> Olmsted, *Report on Geology of North Carolina*, pt. II, 119; Graham, *Gen. Joseph Graham*, 140-41.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Caroline E. MacGill, *History of Transportation in the United States before 1860* (Washington, 1917), 437, 466-67.

<sup>72</sup> Western Plank Road Co., Subscription (MS.), Brevard Papers, II.



utensils and implements of husbandry, and so transported to markets."<sup>73</sup> The distance to large markets, however, was very great; merchants had to be made acquainted with this new brand of iron; and because the industry in the North was more mature, it gained more by the easy access into the state than did North Carolina herself. She still relied too much upon the old methods of manufacture. Even Ebenezer Emmons the new state geologist believed that "Charcoal iron must always have preference over all others,"<sup>74</sup> at a time when mineral coal was being used increasingly in the northern industry.

By the mid-'fifties, of the original families engaged in iron-making in Lincoln County, only the Brevards continued their operations at Mt. Tirzah and Vesuvius, and at a new forge, the Jenny Lind, erected by the grandsons of old Capt. Brevard.<sup>75</sup> The day of the individual iron-master was gradually waning in the face of large capitalized companies so typical of the growing industrial revolution, although more slowly in the South than in the North. In Gaston County, to the south of Lincoln, the High Shoals Manufacturing Company, with New York connections, renovated the old Fulenwider project at Columbia Furnace and erected a rolling-mill, but the venture was abandoned early in 1854.<sup>76</sup> Charlotte, the nearest town of importance, boasted the Palmetto Armory lately transformed into a foundry and machine shop,<sup>77</sup> and in 1858 the Charlotte Foundry and Machine Factory advertised as "the only foundry in the State that casts every day (except Sunday)."<sup>78</sup> These establishments were soon to be of increasing service in the Civil War.

The revival of the office of the state geologist with Ebenezer Emmons in charge in 1851<sup>79</sup> and the projection of the North Carolina Central Railroad through the piedmont reawakened interest in the mineral resources of the upper Cape Fear and the Yadkin valleys. The iron manufacture of revolutionary days in Chatham

<sup>73</sup> *DeBow's Review*, VII (1849), 546.

<sup>74</sup> Ebenezer Emmons, *Geological Report of the Midland Counties* (Raleigh, 1856), 116.

<sup>75</sup> Letters (MSS.) in Brevard Papers, II, 1851-54; Graham, *Gen. Joseph Graham*, 142-43; F. B. McDowell, *The Broad Axe and Forge, or, A Narrative of Unity Church Neighborhood*, (Charlotte, 1897), 10-11.

<sup>76</sup> Lesley, *Iron Manufacturer's Guide*, 75, 245; *Western Democrat* (Charlotte, N. C.), Oct. 6, 1857.

<sup>77</sup> *Western Democrat*, Aug. 11, 1854.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1858.

<sup>79</sup> Kerr, *Report of Progress* . . . 1866, 10-12; Merrill, *100 years of American Geology*, 198-200. In his letter accepting the office Emmons wrote to J. G. Bynum, Nov. 12, 1850: ". . . I would not undertake too much—enough to give an impulse to the different departments of industry in the State—in this will be much of the benefit of the survey. . . ." (MS. in North Carolina Hist. Commission, Raleigh.)



County<sup>80</sup> had never been completely forgotten and at odd intervals attempts had been made to exploit the ore.<sup>81</sup> The discovery of bituminous coal in the Deep River Valley enhanced the value of the iron ore, and the 'fifties witnessed a concerted attempt to "boom" these resources somewhat in the manner of the 'eighties when the "New South" was seeking publicity. Representative T. L. Clingman told Congress of mining operations begun by the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation Company, of interests acquired in mines by New York and Massachusetts capitalists, and of the possibility of mining coal and marketing it for less than a dollar a ton,—a third of the cost of Maryland and Pennsylvania coal.<sup>82</sup> Emmons, after describing the resources, advantageous location, and low cost of living declared that

what is lacking is capital. . . . I have no hesitation in assuming the responsibility of assuring the citizens of North Carolina that the quantity of iron ore . . . is enough to warrant the establishment of furnaces or forges. It is not so much a question of quantity or quality as of expediency, at the present time. . . . If . . . we require a concentration of means and interests to build up large towns, I do not know where a greater number of requisite elements can be found in the interior of any state.<sup>83</sup>

The following year (1857) he made a special report of a similar nature to show the advantages of the Deep River Valley as a site for the establishment of a national foundry,<sup>84</sup> and subsequently Commodore Charles Wilkes reported favorably on "the expediency of establishing at some point . . . machine and workshops for the construction of engines, boilers, etc., for naval vessels, as embraced in a resolution to Congress. . . ." <sup>85</sup> Although Wilkes' proposal was seconded by other men who had confidence in, or at least enthusiasm for, the development of manufactures,<sup>86</sup> and although the Gulf and Deep River Manufacturing Company had been incorporated in 1855,<sup>87</sup> the war had broken out before anything materialized.

<sup>80</sup> See above.

<sup>81</sup> *E.g.*, by the Chatham Iron Manufacturing Company, organized by men of the neighboring counties and chartered in 1828, (*North Carolina Acts*, 1828-29, 65-66).

<sup>82</sup> *DeBow's Review*, XI (1852), 117.

<sup>83</sup> Emmons, *Geological Report on the Midland Counties*, 123-27, 270.

<sup>84</sup> Emmons, *Special Report* . . . Made Pursuant to Instructions from Gov. Bragg, Dec. 29, 1857 (Raleigh, 1857).

<sup>85</sup> North Carolina Legislature, Session 1858-59, Document No. 60, 34-35.

<sup>86</sup> *E.g.*, by the mineralogist William Gemmel, who estimated that pig iron could be made on Deep River at from \$9.00 to \$10.00 per ton. *DeBow's Review*, XXVII (1859), 351.

<sup>87</sup> *North Carolina Acts*, 1854-55, 141-42.



For at least two decades North Carolina's iron industry had been practically static, a condition which amounted to decadence. The meager statistics of the federal census reveal a rapid decline from her maximum production of 1800 tons of pig iron in 1830 to 400 tons in 1850, with no figures quoted for 1860. Wrought and bar iron amounting to 963 tons in 1840 had increased to only 1,096 tons in 1860, which indicated a decline from 1,182 tons in 1856, according to figures compiled by the American Iron Association.<sup>88</sup> In other words, during the 'fifties when the total output of pig iron in the United States was approaching a million tons, and that of bar iron was over fifty thousand,<sup>89</sup> North Carolina's share was negligible. What opportunity she may have had in the 'twenties and 'thirties to develop her iron-making on a larger scale had been lost to Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee whose transportation facilities and geographical location with reference to northern markets were superior,<sup>90</sup> and whose ore deposits were far greater. During the stress of the Civil War North Carolina's isolated iron works were stirred to their maximum activity and in the last year of the conflict the Confederate government took some belated steps to establish an arsenal and foundry on the Deep River.<sup>91</sup> The foundations were laid for the works, but they were incomplete when the Confederacy collapsed.<sup>92</sup>

Years later, when the advocates of the "New South" proclaimed an era of manufacturing to solve prevailing economic ills, a number of the Carolina furnace projects were revived, but without financial success in a single instance.<sup>93</sup> While the sound of a primitive bloomery here and there broke the silence of the remote forest until the end of the last century, only the Cranberry ore in northwestern North Carolina was exploited profitably, to be shipped out of the State for smelting in Johnson City, Tennessee, and elsewhere.<sup>94</sup> North Carolina's iron industry, which began with as much promise

<sup>88</sup> *U. S. Census*, 1840-60; Lesley, *Iron Manufacturer's Guide*, 745 ff; Bishop, *History of American Manufacturers*, II, 329.

<sup>89</sup> *Census of the United States*, 1860: *Manufactures* (Washington, 1865), clxxviii, clxxxiii. The total output of rolled iron in the United States in 1860 was 509,084 tons, which may have included the 51,290 tons of wrought and bar iron.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Cappon, "Trend of the Southern Iron Industry," *loc. cit.*, 376-77.

<sup>91</sup> *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States* (Washington, 1904-05), VII, 329, 594, 643, 707.

<sup>92</sup> North Carolina Steel and Iron Company, *Prospectus* (n. p., 1890?), 5-6, 11, 19.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. H. B. Nitze, *Iron Ores of North Carolina*. (North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, *Bulletin*, No. 1, Raleigh, 1893), 31-33; *Greensboro Patriot*, Apr. 30, June 11, Nov. 4, 1891; July 4, Sept. 26, 1894; North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, *Economic Paper*, Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, (Raleigh, 1900-05).

<sup>94</sup> North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, *Economic Paper*, No. 4-8, 11, 14, 15, 23, 34, 49, 55, 82, *passim* (1900-26).



as that of her southern neighbors, has been destined in the new industrial age to lie relatively dormant while the Birmingham region and other areas more favorably located and with larger resources hold the center of the stage. What value North Carolina's limited iron ore deposits may ultimately hold, only the vagaries of future economic evolution will reveal.



## THE ROCK LANDING CONFERENCE OF 1789

By LUCIA BURK KINNAIRD

The Creek Indian problem was one of the most serious questions confronting the newly organized United States government after the Revolutionary War. It arose partly because, at the termination of hostilities, the Indian was left entirely out of the international arrangements which were entered into by the countries involved. Indian interests were at stake, but no consideration was afforded them. Thus the Indian had no voice in the settlement of frontier questions. During the Revolutionary War, the Creeks had been assiduously courted by the English to aid in defeating the Americans. Help was given gladly in the hope of securing plunder and redress. The British gave gifts lavishly, and so pronounced was the attachment and dependence of the Indians that, at the close of the war, many of them asked to accompany their English friends to their new homes.<sup>1</sup> When the war terminated, although the Americans made peace with the English, the Indians were ignored; thus the earlier feelings engendered in part by the British still remained.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the continued presence of English agents and loyalist refugees among the Indians was no small factor in encouraging the southern tribes to carry on their warlike activities against the Americans.<sup>3</sup>

It was absolutely necessary that the United States make some attempt to settle the problem of the southern Indians since they resided in adjacent territory. Spain, who had fallen heir to the Floridas, also realized the importance of keeping these same Indians friendly. There is ample evidence to show that for many years the principal aim of Spain's Indian policy was to create, under her influence, an Indian confederation which would act as a buffer to American aggression.<sup>4</sup> Fundamental among the causes for the seriousness of the Indian question was the lack of a practical policy

<sup>1</sup> "The presence of a Creek village near Nassau indicated that some Indians actually followed their English friends to New Providence." Lawrence Kinnaird, "International Rivalry in the Creek Country," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, X, 64; George Burbank Shattuck (ed.), *The Bahama Islands* (New York, 1905), Plate XXVII.

<sup>2</sup> William Bacon Stevens, *A History of Georgia* (Philadelphia, 1856), 411.

<sup>3</sup> Willbur Henry Seibert, *Loyalists in East Florida* (Deland, 1929), I, 174.

<sup>4</sup> Spain's purpose was "to erect the Southern Indian tribes into a barrier between the United States and the Spanish Empire in North America." Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Spanish American Frontier* (Boston, 1927), 43. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *España y Los Indios Cheroquis y Chactas En La Segunda Mitad Del Siglo XVIII* (Seville, 1916), 21-23; Justin Winsor, *The Westward Movement* (Boston, 1897), 329-30, 371.



on the part of the Americans. The Spaniards, since they did not introduce colonists, made no efforts to take Indian lands for settlement. For political and military reasons, Spain introduced the protectorate idea; while the Americans, on the contrary, considered the Indian as an irreconcilable, and wished only to secure his land in whatever manner possible.

Relations between the Creeks and the Georgians were especially unsatisfactory. Feeling that their lands were being invaded, and retaining the revolutionary antagonism to the Americans, the Indians resorted to troublesome frontier forays, as a result of which many people lost their lives. Georgia usually retaliated by sending small groups of soldiers into the Indian country. These expeditions, besides resulting in the defeat of the Indians, occasionally obtained treaties by which large portions of land were ceded to the state of Georgia. The treaties of Long Swamp, 1782, and of Augusta, 1783, were secured in this manner, and although there was peace for a time, it was of short duration. When the Georgians began to occupy Indian lands great dissatisfaction arose, and frontier warfare was resumed. The Indians maintained that their lands were being occupied without their consent, since these treaties were secured from a negligible part of the tribe who had been defrauded.<sup>5</sup>

The most important factor contributing to this border warfare was Alexander McGillivray, who held a position of high prestige among the Creeks.<sup>6</sup> He was a well educated man, whose Scotch father, Lachland McGillivray, had been a wealthy trader and owner of a large Georgian estate. His mother, Sehoi, was the daughter of the French Captain Marchand and a Creek mother. By reason of his mother's membership in the Wind family, Alexander McGillivray became one of the most influential of the Creek chiefs.<sup>7</sup> His home was situated on the Coosa River and, if we can credit the description of Pope,<sup>8</sup> the establishment of this chief must have

<sup>5</sup> Le Clerc Milfort, *Mémoire ou Coup-D'Oeil Rapide Sur mes différens voyages et mon Séjour dans la nation Crèck* (Paris, 1802), see chapter entitled "Mauvaise foi des Georgiens," 130-37.

<sup>6</sup> "Short Account of Mr. M'Gillivray," *American Museum VIII*, 171-72.

<sup>7</sup> "McGillivray was one of the most remarkable products of his age. Closely connected by blood with two races, he inherited in a strangely incongruous degree the peculiarities of both." James Phelan, *History of Tennessee* (Boston, 1889), 167.

"When a British colonel, he dressed in the British uniform, and when in the Spanish service, he wore the military dress of that country. When Washington appointed him a brigadier-general, he sometimes wore the uniform of the American army, but never when in the presence of the Spaniards. His usual dress was a mixture of the Indian and American garb." Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Sheffield, 1896), 431-32.

<sup>8</sup> John Pope, *A Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North America* (Richmond, 1792), 46-49.



been a place of beauty. When the Revolutionary War was declared, McGillivray received a colonel's commission in the British service and did much for the English in winning the active support of the Creeks against the Americans.<sup>9</sup> Victory for his enemies, and the consequent confiscation of his father's estate, left him in an unfriendly attitude toward the United States.<sup>10</sup>

McGillivray's most constructive project had for its object the formation of an Indian confederacy as a bulwark against American encroachment.<sup>11</sup> The Creek chief realized the weakness of his nation and the impossibility of meeting the Americans in open battle; but he also saw, with increasing fear, the rapid expansion of the Georgians.<sup>12</sup> He therefore encouraged the raiding of incipient set-

<sup>9</sup> His subsequent political power was thus described in 1789 by an American who met him at St. Augustine: "I have had the satisfaction of conversing with the famous Alexander M'Gillivray, whose name you have so often seen in our public prints—This interview has fully convinced me, that he really is the man, our papers sometimes represent him to be, and that his neighbors, the Georgians, have much to fear from his penetrating genius and great address. The attention paid him by the Spaniards, seems to have something more than common politeness in view—they tell me he holds a general's commission under the crown of Spain; this I have reason to believe, as I have seen him in the Spanish uniform at the governor's table, and receive the military honors of the garrison. This is a policy for which they are not to blame, as M'Gillivray's connections, from his infancy up to this day, with the different Indian nations in the southern part of America, have established him the supreme legislator over their countries. The Spaniards, but indifferently established in this quarter, and sensible of his power, dread his consequence. A new treaty has lately been established between them and M'Gillivray, as king of the Creek nation, by which it is stipulated, that the navigation of that part of the Gulf of Mexico, on which St. Mark (an old abandoned fort) is situated, shall be free for the vessels belonging to the said nation. Agreeably to this article, M'Gillivray, in connection with some of the most respectable merchants, on the island of Providence, has actually established warehouses, at St. Marks, in West Florida; from whence he carries on an extensive and most profitable trade with the Indians, and even our white settlements on the western waters. Thus you see, an individual, with no other than savage connections, has concluded a treaty of navigation, which the exertions and wisdom of congress never yet could obtain." *American Museum*, V, 312.

<sup>10</sup> "His [McGillivray's] losses by confiscation in that contest [the Revolution] had spurred him with a revenge which of late years had been well known to the borderers. He was a man of an active intellect, and not lacking in educational training. . . . He was under binding obligations to the Spaniards, and as we see in his communication with Miró, he did not mean to forget them, while he was ready to settle with their rivals, hoping in each case to serve his own interests." Justin Winsor, *The Westward Movement*, 384.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Winn to Governor Johnston, December 13, 1788, *State Records of North Carolina*, XXI, 509; *ibid.*, December 13, 1789, 569-70.

"The following article is copied from a London paper of the 26th March last: 'By the latest accounts from the continent we learn, that the Indian confederacy, planned and fomented by Mr. McGillivray, begins now to take effect, and most of the tribes on the frontiers, from Georgia to the Ohio, are in motion in vast bodies, preparing to spread terror and desolation through the western settlements of the united states of America.'" *American Museum*, III, 592.

<sup>12</sup> "This nation is generally computed to consist of about 3500 men fit to bear arms." James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), 257.

"The gun-men, or warriors of the whole nation, are estimated at six thousand." *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 15.

"The strength of these Indians is about 6,000 gun-men, mostly well armed with rifles." *Ibid.*, 21.

"The Coll. [Col. Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent] assures that the number of Gunsmen included within the Creek agency does not exceed 3,500 in addition to which if we put down 1,000 for the able men of the Semanoles & Creeks included within the Spanish Limits, makes the effective force of the Creek Confederacy 4,500. McGillivray at one time made them out 15 m but never less than 10 m. Olivier took considerable pains to investigate their numbers but at last made them 9,700—how this difference—can it be the wish of the agent to hold out the Idea of there being so few in number, in order to depress the spirit of the Indians or make them an object of less consequence in the eyes of Spain? This I cannot solve but I really believe their numbers are more considerable



tlements. These attacks were too insignificant to incite a general war, but sufficient to terrorize frontiersmen and to check further encroachments on Indian land. Thus, for a period of almost ten years, McGillivray followed the precarious path between peace and war.<sup>13</sup>

He also resorted to alliance; and the ally he selected was Spain. As early as January, 1784, McGillivray wrote to Arturo O'Neil, the Spanish governor of Pensacola, suggesting a treaty of commerce and alliance.<sup>14</sup> He asked for his nation, "the beneficent protection of his Catholic Majesty for our persons, and for the land which we claim, and of which we are in actual possession. If fortune of war has compelled his Britannic Majesty to withdraw from us his protection, nevertheless he had no right to transfer us away, with our property, to any power whatever against our will and inclination.

"Certainly, as a free people, we have the right to choose our protector, and we do not see any one who answers our purposes better than the Sovereign of the two Floridas." McGillivray also shrewdly called attention to the possibility of an American "Western Independence," and the danger to Spain of any friendship between the southern Indians and the Americans.

McGillivray's communication must have influenced the Spaniards, for in May of the same year, an Indian congress was held in Pensacola and Mobile.<sup>15</sup> It was attended by Miró, Navarro, and O'Neil. Medals and gifts were given, and McGillivray returned home with the treaty of commerce and alliance, and a title of commissary-general with a salary from Spain. Moreover, the king of Spain confirmed the Indian land title.<sup>16</sup>

With such definite support the Creeks continued their attacks against the Georgians and the intermittent war attained such seriousness that the Confederate Congress appointed Benjamin Hawkins,

than here represented." "A Journal of John Forbes, May, 1803," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, IX, 279.

"General McGillivray estimates the number of gun-men to be between 5,000 and 6,000, exclusive of the Seminolies, who are of little or no account in war, except as small parties of marauders, acting independent of the general interest of the others." Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge* (Philadelphia, 1865), V, 263.

John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 73; Washington, 1922), 437-49.

<sup>13</sup> Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 30, Washington, 1907-1910), Part I, 780; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 414-15, 429-32.

<sup>14</sup> Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana Under the Spanish Domination* (New Orleans, 1903), III, 157-61.

<sup>15</sup> Las Casas to Floridablanca, April 21, 1792, Archivo General de Indias, Estado de Santo Domingo, *legajo* 9; McGillivray to Miró, July 10, 1785, MS. Bancroft Library; Jane M. Berry, "The Indian Policy of Spain in the Southwest 1783-1795," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* III, 463-464.

<sup>16</sup> McGillivray to Miró, May 1, 1784, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, *legajo* 197; McGillivray to O'Neil, July 24, 1785, Spanish translation, MS. in Bancroft Library.



Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin to treat with the Creeks. A letter was addressed to McGillivray requesting him to gather the chiefs of his nation in order to hold a conference. McGillivray's reply was a diplomatic note of no mean quality. In it the subtle chief formulated a rather caustic criticism of the unsatisfactory consideration of frontier difficulties. He wrote in part as follows:

"The notification you have sent us is agreeable to our wishes, especially as the meeting is intended for the desirable purpose of adjusting and settling matters on an equitable footing between the United States and the Indian nations. At the same time, I cannot avoid expressing my surprise that a measure of this nature should have been so long delayed on your parts." He observed that the Americans had neglected to gain the friendship of the Creeks and in so doing had lost a powerful ally. He also wrote that Georgia, whose particular interest it was to have endeavored to cultivate the friendship of his nation, had consistently attempted to rob the Indians of their lands by force and fraud. Spain's protection, stated McGillivray, was the only means the Creeks had of maintaining themselves against their aggressive neighbors. He warned the Americans that any boundary line which would be drawn contrary to the rights of the Creek nation would have little value. "We want nothing from you but justice," he wrote, "we want our hunting grounds preserved from encroachments. They have been ours from the beginning of time, and I trust that, with the assistance of our friends, we shall be able to maintain them against every attempt that may be made to take them from us."<sup>17</sup>

This letter demonstrates McGillivray's keen appreciation of the elements in the controversy as well as his astute diplomacy. He made use of his Spanish alliance to warn the Americans that no coercive measures would succeed with the Creeks. It is not without reason that this able Creek has been called the "Talleyrand of Alabama."<sup>18</sup>

The Congressional commissioners, satisfied with McGillivray's reply, selected Galphinton for the meeting place. When the appointed time arrived, however, McGillivray did not appear and the commissioners declined to negotiate with the small number of Creeks who were present.<sup>19</sup> Thus no treaty was made and the commissioners,

<sup>17</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 17-18.

<sup>18</sup> Pickett, *op. cit.*, 432.

<sup>19</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 49.



after distributing presents, withdrew.<sup>20</sup> The Georgia commissioners present, however, were less concerned by the scant representation of Indians. They were glad to conclude the so-called Treaty of Galphinton by which the Treaty of Augusta was confirmed and a new boundary line drawn.<sup>21</sup> It is not clear "what considerations induced the Indians to divest themselves of so much territory";<sup>22</sup> but on this occasion "another grievance against Georgia was furnished McGillivray and the bulk of the tribe."<sup>23</sup>

In a few months the Creeks were again on the warpath. The incipient Muscle Shoals settlement was entirely destroyed, and the settlers driven off. During the next year, 1786, the Georgians, by reason of the presence of armed troops, secured another treaty with a few Creeks at Shoulderbone, but the results were negligible and the fighting continued.<sup>24</sup>

Congress realized that if peace were to be obtained McGillivray must be reckoned with. To this end James White was appointed superintendent of the Creek Indians and sent to Cusseta to confer with the chief. Mr. White's letter to McGillivray on April 4, 1787, was a request for an early meeting in order to discuss the "means of future peace and happiness."<sup>25</sup> It was conciliatory in tone, admitting the rights and grievances of the Indians as well as those of the Georgians. Mr. White ventured to hope that both parties would "condescend a little." McGillivray's reply, April 8, 1787, was a description of the factors causing the conflict.<sup>26</sup> It stated that the Georgians had obtained their treaties by fraud or force, that the tribe as a whole had never consented to any land cession, and that bloodshed had been the only remaining means of driving off the invaders.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>21</sup> "The commissioners of Georgia laid before the legislature a copy of the articles intended to have been proposed to the Creeks by the agents of Congress had a sufficient number been present, which that body declared, by resolutions, to be subversive to the rights of the State. They instructed their members in Congress to insist on the abolition of the rights of the commissioners, while they adopted measures for the preservation of the rights of the citizens of Georgia. Edward Telfair, John King and Thomas Glasscock received the thanks of the General Assembly for their vigilance and patriotism, and particularly for the treaty which they had made." Pickett, *op. cit.*, 372.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Preston Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1789-1793," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V, 195.

<sup>24</sup> McGillivray to Miró, May 1, 1786, Spanish translation, MS. in Bancroft Library. In this letter McGillivray speaks of the "vengeful character of the Americans," and requests "50 barrels more or less of powder and bullets in proportion so that we may, be prepared and find ourselves in a respectable position of defense, whenever the occasion might demand to the end that we may meet force with force."

<sup>25</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 21-22.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.



When the meeting occurred, White's first request was that the Creeks ratify all the treaties concluded by the Georgians and come to an agreement regarding the boundary line. It is difficult to justify White's suggestion which was, of course, refused. McGillivray retaliated by making the following talk: "Notwithstanding that, as the guardian of the Indian rights, I prompt them to defend their lands, yet I must declare I look upon the United States as our most natural allies. Two years ago I waited before I would seek for the alliance I have formed. I was compelled to it. I could not but resent the greedy encroachments of the Georgians, to say nothing of their scandalous and illiberal personal abuse. Notwithstanding which, I will now put it to the test whether they or myself entertain the most generous sentiments of respect for Congress. If that honorable body can form a government to the southward of the Altamaha, I will be the first to take the oath of allegiance thereto; and in return to the Georgians, for yielding to the United States that claim, I will obtain a regular and peaceful grant of the lands on the Oconee, on which they have deluded people to settle, under pretense of grants from the Indians, you yourself have seen how ill founded. However, if this takes place, I will put this matter out of dispute for them. I give you to the first of August for an answer."<sup>27</sup> Needless to say, McGillivray's suggestion came as a complete surprise to White. Since McGillivray refused to meet White's proposals, the meeting terminated with no results and the frontier trouble between the Creeks and the Georgians continued. The new town of Greensboro was destroyed, thirty-one people killed, twenty wounded, and four taken prisoners. Georgia armed a force of three thousand men and requested aid from Congress.<sup>28</sup> Congress, however, was in no mood for an Indian war and again sought to effect some peaceful agreement with McGillivray. Richard Winn was appointed Indian superintendent and sent, together with George Mathews, representing Georgia, and Andrew Pickens, representing South Carolina, to negotiate with the Creek diplomat; but, like past attempts, this effort was fruitless.

During this period McGillivray was in intimate connection with the Spaniards<sup>29</sup> who supplied his nation with the arms necessary to

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-25.

<sup>29</sup> In June, 1786, McGillivray visited Miró at New Orleans.



carry on the frontier warfare.<sup>30</sup> These munitions were delivered with the utmost secrecy and care through the trading house of Panton, Leslie and Company, upon receipt of requests from McGillivray.<sup>31</sup> There is evidence, however, that the Spaniards were beginning to weary of their Indian allies and the expense incurred.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps also they suspected that McGillivray was, first of all, looking out for the interests of the Creeks, and that to attain his ends he was likely to accept aid from any quarter. They probably realized both the impossibility of ever erecting successfully an Indian protectorate strong enough to check the Americans, and the danger of an American-Indian war which might involve Spain. At any rate, in 1787, Miró wrote a letter to McGillivray in which he included the significant admonition, "I wish you could make up matters with our neighbors the Americans."<sup>33</sup> Several months later, in another communication, Miró stated that the Creeks could not expect munitions which were used in frontier attacks on the Americans. McGillivray's reply was evasive. He was not fully convinced of the sincerity of Miró's advice until after his visit to Pensacola. On this occasion he was told that the free supply of arms would be discontinued until the Creeks had concluded, or at least attempted to negotiate, a peace with the Americans.

Although this announcement probably enraged McGillivray, it did not defeat his purposes, but merely served as another test of his diplomatic talents. In June, 1788, he penned a very clever answer to Miró hinting that, if Spain abandoned the Creeks, this action might incur serious results. This threat was reiterated in a letter to Panton which was in reality intended for Miró's eyes. He wrote in part: "If our friends, the Spaniards, knew how very delicate it was to awaken the suspicions and fears of my people, by harsh measures, they would use none in future. . . . If the Grand Turk, or any other power, chooses to make me a present, provided they are not at war with Spain, they cannot be reasonably offended with

<sup>30</sup> "Between June 20, 1786 and October 19, 1787, a total of 7,200 pounds of powder, 150 guns, several thousand pounds of balls and several hundred flints was issued to the Creek through Pensacola as a gift from the Spanish government for use in their war with the American frontiersmen. This does not include the initial supply given them by O'Neill in May, 1786, or the supplies granted them by Zéspedes at St. Augustine and Folch at Mobile." Arthur Prestor Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1783-1789," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V, 196.

<sup>31</sup> Berry, *op. cit.*, 466-67.

<sup>32</sup> "Before the close of Miró's administration, there were evidences of the ultimate futility of Spanish policy in regard to the Indians." *Ibid.*, 469.

<sup>33</sup> Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1783-1789," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V, 198.



me for accepting it. We are a free people, and mean to continue so."<sup>34</sup>

This latest warning referred to the appearance of William Augustus Bowles, an adventurer backed by Providence Island merchants and Governor Dunmore, who offered to supply the Creeks with sufficient munitions to carry on the war against the Georgians.<sup>35</sup> In addition McGillivray was encouraged by the intrigues of the western Americans.<sup>36</sup> He now turned his back on Spain to the extent of resigning his commission as Spanish agent among the Indians.

Miró was thoroughly taken in by McGillivray's clever trick. He was quick to reply that Spain had no intention of withdrawing from her agreement of 1784. McGillivray answered that he would do everything possible to reestablish the friendship between Spain and his nation. Thus Miró was brought into line and Bowles forgotten since his support was not as safe or as reliable as that of Spain. Doubtless, McGillivray appreciated Great Britain's slight chance of returning to Florida at this time and was glad to resume the old attachment to Spain.

Relations between Georgia and the Creeks were so serious in 1789, that Congress made one more effort to intervene. Washington feared that the continued struggle on the southern frontier might lead to a general war in the west.<sup>37</sup> He also desired to avert any possibility of coöperation between McGillivray and the Yazoo Land Companies, since the latter were endeavoring to secure large tracts of Indian territory.<sup>38</sup> Secretary of War Henry Knox submitted to the President a report which considered the Creek situation. He stated

<sup>34</sup> Pickett, *op. cit.*, 386.

<sup>35</sup> Las Casas to Floridablanca, April 21, 1792, A. G. I., Estado de Santo Domingo, legajo 9. This communication gives an excellent general account of Bowles and his projects.

Bowles to O'Neil, December 4, 1791, A. G. I., Papeles de Cuba, legajo 371; Valdez to the Captain General of Florida, April 21, 1789, A. G. I., Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1431 (Bancroft Library transcript); [Benjamin Baynton], *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles* (London, 1791); Milfort, *op. cit.*, 115-28.

<sup>36</sup> Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty* (Baltimore, 1926), 160-62; Winsor, *op. cit.*, 359. Arthur Preston Whitaker, "Spanish Intrigue in the Old Southwest," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 165-68.

<sup>37</sup> Whitaker, *Spanish American Frontier*, 134.

<sup>38</sup> The Yazoo Land Companies were organizations which engaged in huge speculation in western lands. Alexander Moultrie, John Sevier, and Patrick Henry were included in the list of promoters. On December 7, 1789 Georgia granted 10,000,000 acres of land to the South Carolina Yazoo Company, 11,400,000 acres to the Virginia Company, and 4,000,000 to the Tennessee Company. James O'Fallon, an agent of the South Carolina organization, made every effort to secure the approval of Spain in the Company's projects. Washington was extremely desirous of obtaining a treaty with the Creeks in order to sever any possible relation between McGillivray and the Companies. Lawrence Kinnaid, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Pantón's Apalachee Store in 1792," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, IX, 188; Charles H. Haskins, "The Yazoo Land Companies," *Papers of the American Historical Association*, V, 66, 72-3; Milfort, *op. cit.*, 149-51.



that the southern Indians appeared "to be much under the influence and direction of Alexander McGillivray."<sup>39</sup>

In June a preliminary delegation went to Rock Landing, Georgia, for the purpose of meeting McGillivray and discussing the possibility of a treaty between his nation and the United States. They found that affairs were very grave; the Indians were on the point of launching an important attack against the Georgians.<sup>40</sup> McGillivray declined to meet the delegation, choosing to wait for a few months until "each other's minds will be more cool, and can talk over matters with calmness and temper."<sup>41</sup>

His true reason, however, for not meeting the Rock Landing delegation is brought out clearly in a letter to Miró.<sup>42</sup> He stated that in a conversation with a friend, James McGillivray, he had learned that the commissioners had been instructed to conduct themselves "in conformity with the desires of the Georgians. In case we should refuse to accede to their decisions they were instructed to leave it all to the determination of General Washington who has almost the same authority and power as a king. This determination [would be to the disadvantage of the Creeks.]"<sup>43</sup> [For the purpose of the Georgians, as] it is well known, is none other than to compel us first to grant them all the territory that they need from us, part of which enters far into eastern Florida. Their certain object is to draw our commerce by force from the channel through which we now conduct it (the two Floridas) and take possession of it. This would once and for all make them masters to dictate their will to us in all matters."

He also pointed out to Miró that the intentions of the Americans in negotiating a treaty would interfere with the relations between Spain and the Creeks. "In view of this information, we cannot now, without failing in our first obligations to you, proceed to deal with them under such contradictory terms. You may rest assured that it will be my special study and endeavor to preserve good faith with you despite the fact that interested and insidious men may excite you to believe the contrary. Your good mode of thinking and clear understanding of our situation will prove to you the im-

<sup>39</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 15.

<sup>40</sup> According to the letter of John Galphin, May 23, 1789, there were "not less than two thousand under arms." *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>42</sup> McGillivray to Miró, June 24, 1789, Spanish translation, MS. Bancroft Library.

<sup>43</sup> Torn in the manuscript.



possibility of our acting in any way that will expose us to the loss of the king's guaranty. . . ."<sup>44</sup>

Evidently at this time McGillivray was not expecting peace, nor did he seriously consider the future treaty. "With the object of putting ourselves in preparation for any event and on guard against its results, I despatched word to the Kawita, Kasihta, and to some other villages of the Lower Creeks to go to Pensacola to receive the arms and ammunition that your Lordship has promised them. I have sent others from here with the same object."

On August 7, 1789, President Washington observed in a letter to the Senate of the United States, that the Indian problem seemed "to require the immediate interposition of the General Government."<sup>45</sup> To this end a commission was appointed to attempt once more the delicate task of meeting McGillivray's diplomacy. David Humphreys, Benjamin Lincoln, and Cyrus Griffin composed the commission, and their instructions read as follows: "The United States consider it as an object of high national importance, not only to be at peace with the powerful tribes or nations of Indians south of the Ohio, but, if possible, by a just and liberal system of policy, to conciliate and attach them to the interests of the Union."<sup>46</sup> The commissioners were ordered to negotiate a treaty with the Creeks in which the "whole nation must be fully represented, and solemnly acknowledged to be so by the Creeks themselves." The validity of the treaties of Augusta, Galphinton, and Shoulderbone was to be examined, and the Creek nation was to be promised a port as a possible means of destroying their dependence upon and alliance with Spain. Moreover, the instructions warned the commission that McGillivray possessed "an unlimited influence over the Creek nation and part of the Cherokees." It was, therefore, "an object worthy of considerable exertion to attach him warmly to the United States." He was to be presented with gifts and offered a military commission in the United States service.

The federal government realized the uncertainty of its position; if the commission should discover that the Georgia treaties were invalid it would be extremely difficult, and practically impossible, to induce Georgia to relinquish the land which had been obtained.

<sup>44</sup> Two lines torn off.

<sup>45</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 12. Edgar S. Maclay (ed.), *Journal of William Maclay* (New York, 1890), 128-33.

<sup>46</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 65.



Therefore, the instructions stated, "it will be an important accommodation to Georgia to obtain from the Creeks a regular conveyance of the said lands lying along the Ogechee and Oconee." In other words, after all the promises to consider the claims of the Indians, the federal government merely intended to confirm and establish the unjustifiable claims of Georgia. This, of course, was more or less the only position which could be adopted; the newly organized government was weak, and not at all certain of the states' support. Furthermore, the fact that the Creeks were backed by Spain was well known and served as a contributing factor in the desire and necessity on the part of the United States government to stand by Georgia, rather than to support the claims of the Creeks.

When McGillivray was invited to be present at a peace conference he accepted. At the time he was in a reasonably strong position; Spain had renewed the subsidy and there was no reason to believe that this attempt to secure land cessions would be more successful than previous endeavors. Just before joining the commissioners, however, McGillivray wrote Panton a letter from Little Tallassee, August 10, 1789.

This note was undoubtedly intended to assure Miró of his first allegiance to Spain, as well as to stress the necessity of Spain's remaining true to her Creek allies. In the letter McGillivray mentioned his desire to secure from the Americans an acknowledgment of the Creeks as an independent nation. He also promised Panton not to transfer the trade monopoly to the United States even though this matter led to breaking off negotiations. "On the whole," he wrote, "if I find that the commissioners insist upon stipulations that will in their operation clash with those already entered into with Spain, I shall not hesitate to cut short the negotiation; and support the connection which we have with Spain, it being more safe and respectable than the republicans can make one." There was also a suggestion of threatening advice for Miró. "But at the same time I must insist upon an equal resolution in our friends, the Spaniards, to afford us their decided support by every means in their power, and not under any pretences to repeat their conduct of last summer, in the very moment of vigorous exertion to refuse a further aid, and incense and menace us to make a peace, right or wrong, with the Americans, which, if we had done at the time, we should have been driven into hostility with Spain before this



day. I repeat to you what I have frequently done to Governor Miró, that if we are obliged, for want of support, to conclude an unconditional peace with the Americans, it will prove essentially hurtful to the King's interest."<sup>47</sup> Thus McGillivray, before meeting the Americans, had reminded his most reliable ally of duties to his nation.

Needless to state, the commissioners who were sent to parley with McGillivray went with their minds made up regarding the nature of the treaty which they were to negotiate. Their attitude was in no measure different from that of the Georgians who had secured the earlier treaties. When they arrived at Rock Landing, the place selected for the meeting, they found McGillivray and two thousand warriors encamped on the western bank of the Oconee.<sup>48</sup> In his first report to President Washington, September 21, 1789, Humphreys stated: "It is a favorable circumstance that the present Commission is certainly very acceptable to the whole State, unless a few land jobbers be excepted. It is also pretty well ascertained that McGillivray is desirous of Peace and his word is a Law to the Creeks."<sup>49</sup>

The primary conversations were satisfactory to both parties. Talks were exchanged, and the Black Drink ritual was enacted. Humphreys' second letter to the President, September 26, 1789, contains the following observation on McGillivray: "The next day McGillivray dined with us and although he got very much intoxicated, he seemed to retain his recollection, & reason, beyond what I have ever seen in a person, when in the same condition. At this time I became intimate to a certain degree with him & endeavored to extract his real sentiments & feelings, in a conversation alone confidentially. He declared he was really desirous of a peace, that the local situation of the Creeks required that they should be connected with us rather than with any other People, that, however, they had certain advantages in their Treaty with Spain, in respect to a guarantee & Trade, which they ought not in justice to themselves to give up without an equivalent."<sup>50</sup>

In the same communication Humphreys wrote: "I have not the leisure to give you a description of the person & character of McGillivray. His countenance has nothing liberal and open in it.

<sup>47</sup> Pickett, *op. cit.*, 391.

<sup>48</sup> Frank Landon Humphreys, *The Life and Times of David Humphreys* (2 vols. New York, 1917), II, 3; Pickett, *op. cit.*, 396.

<sup>49</sup> Humphreys, *op. cit.*, II, 5.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.



It has, however, sufficient marks of understanding. In short, he appears to have the good sense of an American, the shrewdness of a Scotchman & the cunning of an Indian. I think he is so much addicted to debauchery that he will not live four years. He dresses altogether in the Indian fashion & is rather slovenly than otherwise."<sup>51</sup>

In the draft treaty drawn up at Rock Landing it was stipulated that the boundary line made by the treaties of Augusta, Galphinton, and Shoulderbone should be confirmed, that the United States would guarantee the territory west of the line provided for to the Creek nation, that free trade should be established with the Indians from the Altamaha ports, and that all prisoners and property taken by the Indians should be returned. These stipulations were without doubt utterly impracticable, and if the commissioners had been at all informed regarding the true condition of affairs, such a treaty would not have been thought of at this time.<sup>52</sup>

McGillivray left Rock Landing, informing the commissioners that the proposed treaty was unsatisfactory, but that he would be willing to attend some future meeting to reconsider the matter. He also promised to keep the Creeks from committing any hostile acts on the frontier during the winter. On September 27, he wrote the following letter to the commissioners from his camp on the Ockmulgee River: "I am favored with your letter of yesterday, by Weatherford. I beg to assure you, that my retreat from my former camp, on the Oconee, was entirely owing to the want of food for our horses, and at the earnest entreaty of our chiefs. Colonel Humphreys and myself, at different interviews, entered minutely and deeply into the subject of contest between our nation and the State of Georgia. I observed to him, that we expected ample and full justice should be given us, in restoring to us the encroachments we complained of, in which the Oconee lands are included; but finding that there was no such intention, and that a restitution of territory hunting grounds

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>52</sup> "The terms they [the commissioners] proposed were unaccompanied with a solitary equivalent, and exhibited an extremely niggardly spirit, from which the high-minded Andrew Pickens wholly dissented. He knew that a treaty could not be made without liberal compensation for the valuable lands which the Georgians were then cultivating." Pickett, *op. cit.*, 397.

McGillivray made the following remark about Pickens: "Pickens I take to be a worthy moderate man. We got well acquainted, and I am sure if he had remained in his appointment, we should have come to some agreement." McGillivray to Panton, October 8, 1789, MS. copy, Bancroft Library.



was not to be the basis of a treaty of peace between us, I resolved to return to the nation, referring the matter, in full peace, till next spring. Many of the principals having gone hunting, nothing farther can now be done. I am very unwell, and cannot return. We sincerely desire a peace, but we cannot sacrifice much to obtain it. As for a statement of our disputes, the honorable Congress has long ago been in possession of, and has declared that they would decide on them in the principles of justice and humanity. 'Tis what we expect."<sup>53</sup>

One more attempt was made by the commissioners to meet McGillivray, but it was not successful. In the letter of September 28 to the Secretary of War they were forced to admit with some mortification that "the parties had separated without making a treaty."<sup>54</sup>

The diplomatic episode at Rock Landing has been hitherto explained and interpreted entirely from the white man's viewpoint. No appreciable consideration has yet been shown for the other side of the story, namely, the Indian's. Descriptions of this affair have been, for the most part, patterned on the one offered by Humphreys, the official who failed to execute the mission of the federal government. It is to be expected that the attitude expressed by such a man would reflect his chagrin. Despite his diplomatic experience, Humphreys was not capable of coping with the clever Creek chief, nor of appreciating the delicacy necessary to obtain a treaty. He should have realized that to negotiate successfully with McGillivray a genuine attempt should be made to offer satisfactory compensation to the Creek nation; but apparently he regarded such a course as unnecessary. His letters show that he was ignorant of the gravity of the situation. The fact that he was fatuous enough to believe in the validity of the Georgia treaties is sufficient illustration of his calibre. Moreover, his statement that it was questionable whether or not McGillivray "ever had a former Treaty with, or received a genuine Commission from the King of Spain," betrays his utter ignorance of the important relationship between Spain and the Creeks.

<sup>53</sup> *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 75.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 76. Commenting on the failure of the commissioners Maclay wrote: "'Tis a spoiled piece of business; and, by way of justification of their conduct in not having made peace, they seem disposed to precipitate the United States into war, the not uncommon fruits of employing military men." Maclay, *op. cit.*, 174.



Shortly after the Rock Landing failure McGillivray wrote to William Panton.<sup>55</sup> Through this letter we gain an understanding of the other side of the story. He first observed that "my expectations on the occasion were sanguine, that such an appointment was purposely made to give us full and ample satisfaction in regard to our Land grievances, and that we should conclude a peace on as broad a bottom as one of Fox's or Shelborne's." McGillivray's remarks on Humphreys were not complimentary. He considered him "fluent of speech, and a great boaster of his political knowledge, and his assisting at the former Treaty with the Courts of Versailles, Berlin, etc. He shifted his ground, modes of attack in various shapes. The arts of flattery, ambition and intimidation were exhausted in vain." Evidently the Creek chief was not deceived by the crude diplomacy of the American.

As for the attempted treaty McGillivray was justly enraged. He wrote that "it went to overthrow every pretention we had to an independent situation and while they demanded important sacrifices from us, they on their part held out to us, not the shade of an equivalent advantage for it." McGillivray was also careful to point out that he had not deserted his Spanish friends, since he knew that his letter to Panton would eventually reach Miró. "On the whole I trust that our friends will approve of my conduct in this late Negotiation, as I was resolved to be the honest man, and not sacrifice the interests of our friends and our own political good faith, to private interest and mercenary motives."

The proposed treaty of Rock Landing provided that the Creeks must acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States and also that all treaties with other powers must be abrogated. In McGillivray's eyes this was impracticable since the Americans had at no time shown themselves suitable protectors of his nation; whereas Spain, although she had reasons of her own, had been a successful ally.

McGillivray was not in the least influenced by Humphreys' argument, and when the latter became dictatorial in his attitude, the conference was terminated. "I finally told him," wrote McGillivray, "by G—— I could not have such a Treaty cram'd down my throat." After this McGillivray informed his warriors that "it was

<sup>55</sup> McGillivray to Panton, October 8, 1789. A copy of this letter was enclosed with a letter from Henry White to Miró, October 23, 1789, MS., Bancroft Library.



vain to expect to bring them to do the justice we wanted; my opinion was that as we came in a body, so we should retreat as peaceably as we came, and not be laying there wrangling with them, lest bad consequences might ensue."

The ability of the Creeks to withstand the demands and pressure of the Americans was due almost entirely to McGillivray's diplomacy. Without his leadership the Creeks would probably have offered no more serious problem than the Cherokees, who had been successfully dealt with by treaty in 1785. McGillivray was able to block the desired settlement between the United States and his nation. In him the commissioners found a diplomat more astute than they. Even though he realized that the Creeks could not meet their powerful neighbors in a general conflict, by taking advantage of international rivalries, he was able to make his nation the dominant factor in the Old Southwest. The objective of all American negotiation had been to secure a definite Indian boundary and land cession; yet, despite the efforts of Georgia, the government under the Articles of Confederation, and finally the Washington administration, the Rock Landing conference left the problem of the Georgia-Creek frontier as serious as it had been at the close of the Revolutionary War.



# A BRITISH ORDERLY BOOK, 1780-1781

## IV

Edited by A. R. NEWSOME

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. MILLERS PLANTATION,  
10<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781.

The Bat Horses to be Loaded & the Troops Under Arms ready to March precisely at half past Six OClock to morrow Morning.

Yagers	N Carolina Volunteers
Cavalry	2 Six pound <sup>rs</sup>
1/2 the Pioneers	Brig <sup>de</sup> Guards
2 Three Pounders	Bat Horses
Lt Col Websters Brigade	1/2 the Pioneers
2 Six pounders	Waggons
Reg <sup>t</sup> of Bose	

An Off<sup>r</sup> & 12 Dragons will March With the Rear Guard. The Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Serj<sup>t</sup>. of Each Corps is to March with the Bat Horses, M<sup>r</sup> Ryder Brice is app<sup>d</sup> Inspector of Refuges for the Province of N Carolina.

*After Orders 10<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup> 1781*

The different Corps will Send to the Com<sup>ry</sup>. at five OClock tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. to receive a proportion of Meal.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>,  
10<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781.

The Bat horses to be Loaded & the Troops under Arms ready to March precisely at 6 oClock tomor<sup>w</sup> Morning in the follg Order.

Yagers	N Carolina Vol <sup>rs</sup> .
Cavalry	2 Six pounders
1/2 the pioneers	L <sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade
2 Three pounders	Bat Horses
Brigade of Guards	1/2 the Pioneers
2 Six pounders	Waggons
Reg <sup>t</sup> of Bose	

An Off<sup>r</sup> & 12 Dragoons will March With the Rear Guard.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup>,  
12<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781.

The Bat Horses to be Loaded & the Troops under Arms ready to March at half past Six oClock tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>.



H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>,  
13<sup>th</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1781.

The Bat Horses to be Loaded & the Troops under Arms ready to March at ½ past five OClock tomorrow Morning in the follg Order

2 Three pounders	L <sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brig <sup>de</sup>
Brig <sup>de</sup> . Guards	Bat Horses
2 Six pounders	

*Brig<sup>de</sup> Ord<sup>rs</sup>. 8 oClock at Night*

14<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1781.

It having been Signified to B Gen<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara that L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis means to make a forward move in the Morn<sup>g</sup> of Twenty Miles in a Rapid Manner in order totally to Effect the purposes of every late Exertion it is Wish'd Com<sup>ds</sup> Off<sup>rs</sup>. of Batt<sup>ns</sup>. will Signify the same to their respective Corps in order to Ascertain at four oClock to Morrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. What Men will be Able to undertake the Same & what may be left behind.

*After Orders 9 oClock at Night*

The Army will March precisely at four oClock in the Morn<sup>g</sup>. The Off<sup>rs</sup>. are expected to take With them no more Baggage but their Canteens, & the Men will leave their Packs behind them under the Charge of such Men or Any that may not be able to March. The Returns Calld for in Brig<sup>de</sup> Ord<sup>rs</sup>. Will be Ready at four OClock in the Morn<sup>g</sup>. taking Care not to Disturb the Men in their Rest.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>r</sup>. WILEY'S HOUSE,  
15<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.<sup>81</sup>

The Troops to be under Arms & ready to march precisely at half past five oClock tomorrow Morng in the follg Order.

2 Three pounders	Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose
Brigade of G <sup>ds</sup> .	L <sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade
2 Six pounders,	

*Orders 16<sup>th</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1781*

A Serj<sup>t</sup>. & 18 Men from those Who have been resting in Camp to parade Immed<sup>y</sup> at the Guns with the Bat Horses of the Brig<sup>de</sup>. to forage, a Guide & further directions will be given by Maj<sup>r</sup> England.

<sup>81</sup> Cornwallis reached the Dan on the 15th only to see the last of the American command on the opposite side of the river. David Schenck, *op. cit.*, 259; Tarleton, *op. cit.*, 229. Cornwallis in his letter of March 17 to Germaine said his army arrived at Boyd's Ferry on the 12th and found that Greene's rear guard had crossed the night before. Tarleton, *op. cit.*, 264-265.



Br: Ord<sup>rs</sup>. 16<sup>th</sup> Feb 1781

The duty of the Camp to be taken this day & tomorrow by the Men Who Stopp'd behind the last March & Rested. Tomor<sup>w</sup>. being a Halting day it is desired the men may be Appriz'd thereof that they may Employ it in Washing & Cleaning themselves.

After Orders

States of Comp<sup>ys</sup> with all Alterations since last Return to be given into the Adj<sup>ts</sup>. immed<sup>y</sup>. that they may be Able to Send them When Collected to the Maj<sup>rs</sup> of Brigade by five oClock this Eveng. The Mill G<sup>d</sup> to parade at day break in the Morn<sup>g</sup>. at the Artillery Park The foraging parties of the differ<sup>er</sup> Corps & Dep<sup>tm</sup>ts. of the Army to parade at 7 oClock to Mor<sup>w</sup>. Mor<sup>g</sup>. With an Escort of a Sub<sup>n</sup> & 20 Men from Each Batt<sup>n</sup>. the Guards give a Q<sup>r</sup> Master instead of a Sub<sup>n</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Col Webster Brig<sup>de</sup>. give a Capt for this party.

Guard at Thomas's Mills

	C	-	S	-	S	-	R & F
Br: G <sup>ds</sup> .	1	-	.	-	2	-	40
Col Websters			2	-	2	-	40
Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose			1	-	1	-	20
	1:		3		5	-	100

Henrys Mills

N C Vol <sup>rs</sup>	1	-	1	-	20
L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis's G <sup>d</sup>			1	-	13
Reg <sup>t</sup> Bose M G <sup>l</sup> Leslies			-	1	- 8
Web <sup>srs</sup> Br: Prov <sup>n</sup> G <sup>d</sup>	1	-	1	-	9
Cattle G <sup>d</sup>			-	1	- 6
Prov <sup>t</sup> G <sup>d</sup>	1	-	1	-	21

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. DOBBINES'S HOUSE,  
17<sup>th</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1781.

L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis is very sorry to be ag<sup>n</sup>. Obligd to call the attention of the Off<sup>rs</sup>. of the Army to the Repeated Ord<sup>rs</sup>. against plundering, He desires that the Ord<sup>rs</sup>. given on the 28<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>ry</sup>. & the 6<sup>th</sup> of Feb<sup>ry</sup> May be read at the Head of Each Troop & Comp<sup>y</sup>. on each of the Three first Halting days & he Assures the Off<sup>rs</sup>. that if their duty to their King & Country & their feeling for Humanity are not Sufficient to Enforce their Obedience to them he must however Reluctantly make use of such power as the Military Laws has placed in his Hands<sup>82</sup>

1<sup>st</sup>. Extract from Orders to be read 28<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup>. As the Object of our March is to Support & Assist those Loyalists in N Carolina &c<sup>a</sup> &c

<sup>82</sup> Here follow two blank pages in the manuscript.



2<sup>nd</sup>. Extract 4<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup>, Salisbury. It is with great Concern that Lord Cornwallis acquaints the Army &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup>

3<sup>rd</sup> Extract 6<sup>th</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup>. Any Off<sup>r</sup>. who looks on with Indifference & does not do his utmost to prevent the Shamefull &c &c

*Detail of Duties*

	S:	S:	C:	D.	P.	
L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis's G <sup>d</sup>	.	-	1	-	1	- . - 12 Br G <sup>ds</sup>
Gen <sup>l</sup> Leslie's & Cattle	.	-	.	-	2	- . - 12 R <sup>t</sup> De Bose
Prov <sup>n</sup> G <sup>d</sup>	.	-	1	-	1	- . - 9 G <sup>ds</sup>
Prov <sup>t</sup> . G <sup>d</sup>			1	-	2	- . - 21
Total	0:	3	:	6	.	54

To be Reliev'd when the Troops come up, in Case of a further Halt at 12 o'Clock tomorrow.

*After Orders*

The Bat horses to be Loaded, & the Troops under Arms ready to March at half past five O'Clock tomorrow morn<sup>g</sup>. in the follg order.

Cavalry	Two Six pounders
Yagers	Brigade of Guards
Pioneers	Bat Horses
Two Three pounders,	Waggons
L <sup>t</sup> Col. Websters Brigade	Rear Guards

*Brig<sup>de</sup>. Orders 2 o'Clock 18<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup> 1781<sup>83</sup>*

The Picqts of the Brigade to Consist of two Serj<sup>ts</sup>. two Corp<sup>ls</sup>. & Twenty four Private from Each Batt<sup>n</sup>. to be posted in the following Order, Two Serj<sup>ts</sup>. & 24 private in the Centre of the Brigade in the Road in front of the Guns, 1 Serj<sup>t</sup>. & 12 in front of the Outward Flanks of Each Batt<sup>n</sup>.—To Communicate With the Centre picq<sup>t</sup>. from the Right to the picq<sup>t</sup> of the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Right Posted in the Great Hillsborough Road on the left.

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders*

A Foraging party Consisting of 1 Serj<sup>t</sup>. 1 Corpl & 18 private to parade immediately in the great Hillsborough Road on the Left of the Brigade of Guards The Bat Horses &c<sup>a</sup> Will Attend—the Officers will take Care that the Bat Men observe in the Strictest manner, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders.

*After Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders*

The Army will March in the morning at half past 5 o'Clock. The Brigade of Guards lead the Column Bat Men follow L<sup>t</sup> Col. Websters Brigade.

<sup>83</sup> The march to Hillsborough began on February 18 and ended on February 20. David Schenck, *op. cit.*, 260.



ARMSTRONGS PLANTATION,  
19<sup>th</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1781.  
C Sign,

Parole,

All passes to be taken from the people that go out at the Posts or Picq<sup>ts</sup>. of the Army & sent from thence in the Morning to Head Quarters. The Brig<sup>de</sup>. of G<sup>ds</sup>. will relieve L<sup>d</sup>. Cornwallis G<sup>d</sup>. of 1 Serj<sup>t</sup> 1 Corpl & 12 pr tomor<sup>w</sup>. as soon as the Troops come to their Ground.

*Brig<sup>de</sup> Ord<sup>rs</sup>.*

A Court of Enquiry consisting of Three Field Off<sup>rs</sup>. to Assemble at the Presidents Tent at half past five OClock this Evening, to Enquire into such Matters as shall be laid before it.

L<sup>t</sup> Col Norton Presid<sup>t</sup>  
L<sup>t</sup> Col. Stuart } Members  
L<sup>t</sup> Col Pennington }

HEAD QUARTERS ARMSTRONG'S,  
19<sup>th</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1781.

Regulations concerning Horses & Negroes repeated

	Horses	Negroes
For the Cavalry		
L <sup>t</sup> Col	10	4
Capt <sup>n</sup>	7	2
Sub <sup>n</sup>	5	2
Surg <sup>n</sup>	3	4
Q <sup>r</sup> Mast <sup>r</sup>	2	4
Infantry		
F Off <sup>r</sup> . (besides Bat Horses)	3	2
Capt <sup>ns</sup> .	3	1
Sub <sup>n</sup> . Each	2	1
Q <sup>r</sup> M <sup>r</sup> . Serj <sup>t</sup> . & Serj <sup>t</sup> Maj <sup>r</sup>	1	

The Q<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. of each Reg<sup>t</sup>. may have Eight Negroes to Assist him in receiving prov<sup>ns</sup>. & other Reg<sup>l</sup>. Business. Each Negroe is to have a Ticket with his Masters Name Signed by the Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>r</sup>. of the Corps or the Head of the Departm<sup>t</sup>. to which he belongs; Off<sup>rs</sup>. who have more than one Negroe will Number Each Ticket. The Dep<sup>y</sup> Provost has reced orders to Seize & detain any Negroe who has not a Ticket agreeable to the above Order. All Serv<sup>ts</sup>. & Bat Men are to have Tickets for the Horses they ride or lead Sign'd as beforementioned.

Br: Memorand<sup>m</sup>. No Off<sup>r</sup>. from the British Legion having appear'd at the Court of Enquiry to give Evidence the Off<sup>rs</sup>. who Compose the Same will look upon themselves as Adjourn'd till the troops come to their Ground tomorrow.



*After Orders 8 oClock at Night*

The Army will March at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6 OClock tomor<sup>w</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>. The Column will be led by L<sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade, The Brig<sup>de</sup> of G<sup>ds</sup>. give the Rear Guard & forms the Same.

*Br Orders*

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup> forms the Rear Guard

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. HILLSBOROUGH,<sup>84</sup>  
20<sup>th</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.  
C Sign,

The diff<sup>t</sup>. Corps will send their Q<sup>r</sup> Masters to Sharp Grinery's for half Hides in the foll<sup>g</sup> proportion

Guards	10 Hides
23 <sup>rd</sup>	4
33 <sup>rd</sup>	4
71 <sup>st</sup>	4
Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose	5
N C Vol <sup>rs</sup>	5

The Br: of G<sup>ds</sup>. furnish the Town G<sup>d</sup>. tomorrow Consist<sup>g</sup> of 1C 3 Ser: 4C: 1D: 50 pr. one Corp<sup>l</sup>. & 6 private of which are to be Detach'd to the Mill Guard. The Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> from the Brigade with all his Blacks will Attend at 12 oClock every Day to bury the Offal at the Cattle Penn.

*Br Ord<sup>rs</sup>*

	Off <sup>r</sup>	Ser	C	D	Pr
The Picq <sup>ts</sup> to Consist of	1	4	4	1	60

to march precisely at 4 oClock this Aftern<sup>n</sup>. the Adj<sup>t</sup> in Waiting will Shew the Off<sup>r</sup> the Post.

CAMP NEAR HILSBOROUGH,  
21<sup>st</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1781.

*Br Morn<sup>g</sup> Orders*

As the Army will halt on this ground for Some days it is recommended to the Com<sup>dg</sup>. Off<sup>rs</sup>. to See this opportunity is Employ'd in thoroughly repairing the Mens Cloathing Necessaries & Appointm<sup>ts</sup>. as well as the Compleating of the Shoes.

Mem<sup>dm</sup>. An Inspection of Ammunition Flints &c<sup>a</sup> to be made & a Return to be given in.

<sup>84</sup> Cornwallis arrived at Hillsborough on the 20th and issued a proclamation on that day inviting all loyal subjects to repair to the royal standard. Several hundred came to the British camp for inquiries and news. They seemed desirous of peace, but fear and indifference kept them from joining the British army. Tarleton, *op. cit.*, 230-231, 256-257.



*Morn<sup>d</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders*

The Army will Forage this Morning at 10 oClock, it is to be understood when the Inf<sup>ry</sup>. Forage on a halt, or in a first Position, that they bring three days Forage with them.

*Br Orders*

One Off<sup>r</sup> & 20 Men with all the Bat Horses of the Brigade to be at the Artillery park at 10 oClock. All Officers & Men of the Guards & of L<sup>t</sup> Inf<sup>ry</sup> Comp<sup>ys</sup> on duty to be immediately reliev'd & the Men get themselves Clean & ready to March by 12 oClock this day, in order to Attend the Ceremony of Hoisting the Kings Standard in Hillsborough at one oClock. two Additional Off<sup>rs</sup>. will be posted to those Companies for this day. Capt<sup>ns</sup> Richardson & Stuart will Join the Grenadier Company, Capt<sup>n</sup> Maitland the Lt. Infantry. The Grenad<sup>r</sup>. & L<sup>t</sup> Inf<sup>ry</sup>. Companies will meet at the Forks of the Road leading to Taylors Ferry<sup>85</sup> & Hillsborough at 1/2 past 12 oClock.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. HILLSBOROUGH,  
21<sup>st</sup> Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1781.

*Morning Orders*

The Com<sup>dg</sup>. Officer of Artillery will Erect the Royal Standard at 10 OClock to day & fire Twenty one Guns.

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. After Orders, 12 oClock Noon.*

The orders respecting the Erecting the Royal Standard at 12 oClock this day is Countermanded 'till tomorrow when the same Troops will hold themselves in readiness to attend at the same Hour as order'd this day.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. HILLSBOROUGH,  
21<sup>st</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.

Parole,

C Sign,

All Inhabitants of the Country who are Conducted by Mr James Mumo or Persons Deputed by him are to be permitted to pass the out Post.

*Detail*

	C: S <sup>n</sup> . S: C: D. Pr.	
L <sup>d</sup> . Cornwallis's G <sup>d</sup> .	. - . - 1 - 1 - . - 12	} Guards
Gen <sup>l</sup> Leslie's	. - . - . - 1 - . - 6	
Prov <sup>n</sup> . G <sup>d</sup> .	. - . - . - 1 - . - 3	

<sup>85</sup> Taylor's Ferry on Dan River.



Kello's Mills	. - 1 - 1 - 1 - . - 20	} Lt Col: Websters Brigade
Provost.	. - . - 1 - 1 - . - 9	
Cattle	. - . - 1 - 1 - . - 6	
Town Guard	1 - 1 - 1 - 4 - . - 40	{ Reg De Bose & N C V

*Brigade Orders*

All the Collar Makers of the Brigade to be Sent to Lt McLeod<sup>86</sup> Com<sup>dg</sup>. the Royal Artillery at 7 o'Clock tomorrow morning, with two Smiths. The Tanners will attend Lt Col Hamilton at the Same Hour for further directions.

HILLSBOROUGH,  
22<sup>nd</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.

The Court of Enquiry order'd to Sit some days past will Assemble at the presid<sup>ts</sup>. Tent at 5 o'Clock this Evening.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. Hillsborough,  
22<sup>nd</sup>. Feb<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.  
C Sign,

Parole,

It is with great concern that Lord Cornwallis hears every day reports of Soldiers being taken by the Enemy, in consequence of their Straggling out of Camp in search of Whiskey; He Strictly Enjoins all Officers & Non Commission'd Officers Com<sup>dg</sup>. the Out Posts and Picq<sup>ts</sup>. of the Army to do their utmost to prevent any Soldier from passing them.

The Command<sup>g</sup>. Officers of Corps are requested to pay their utmost attention to keeping their Men in Camp. Lord Cornwallis trusts, that there is so much Honour & Noble spirit in the soldiers that at a time when Great Britain has so many Enemies, & his Country has so much occasion for his Services, he will render himself unserviceable to it during the whole War, & of passing some Years in a Lonesome prison Subject to the bitter Insults of the Rebels, for the Chance of a momentary Gratification of his Appetite.

*Detail of Duties*

	C:	Sub <sup>n</sup> .	S:	C:	D:	Pr <sup>e</sup> .		
Kello's Mill	.	-	1	-	1	-	. - 20	} Brigade of Guards.
M. G <sup>l</sup> Leslie's	.	-	.	-	1	-	. - 6	
Prov <sup>n</sup> Waggon's	.	-	.	-	1	-	. - 9	
	.	-	1	-	2	-	3 - . - 35	

<sup>86</sup> Lieutenant John Macleod, 1752-1833, was appointed lieutenant in 1771, sailed for America in 1775, joined Cornwallis in 1781, and commanded the artillery at Guilford Court House. He became captain in 1790, deputy adjutant general in 1795, lieutenant-colonel in 1797, major-general in 1809, and lieutenant-general in 1814. After the battle of Waterloo he accepted the office of director-general of artillery, which he held until his death. He was knighted in 1820. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 444.



L <sup>d</sup> . Cornwallis's	.	-	.	-	1	-	1	-	.	-	12	} Regt Bose & N C Vol <sup>s</sup> .
Provost	.	-	.	-	1	-	1	-	.	-	9	
Cattle	.	-	.	-	.	-	1	-	.	-	6	
	.	-	.	-	2	-	3	-	.	-	27	
Town G <sup>d</sup> .	1	-	1	-	1	-	4	-	.	-	40	L <sup>t</sup> Websters

Brigade Orders

Ens<sup>n</sup>. Stuart for the Mill duty, & to be Allow'd an Overslaan<sup>87</sup> in the Roster of Picq<sup>ts</sup>. The Tents to be Struck & the Off<sup>rs</sup>. Baggage Loaded ready to move (to change their Ground) at 10 o'Clock to morrow morn<sup>g</sup>. at which time the Men will be under Arms.

Brigade Morn<sup>g</sup>. Orders 23<sup>rd</sup>. Febr<sup>ry</sup>. 1781

A Foraging party consisting of one Capt<sup>n</sup>. & 20 Men to parade at the Guns at Ten oClock with all the Bat Horses of the Brigade. It having appear'd before a Court of Enquiry of the Brigade, that Edward Horman, Soldier in the 3<sup>rd</sup>. Company 2<sup>nd</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup>. Confin'd on Suspicion of Desertion; Is innocent of the Charge, He is therefore order'd to be releas'd from Confinement.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. HILLSBOROUGH,  
23<sup>rd</sup>. Febr<sup>ry</sup>. 1781.  
C Sign,

Parole,	Detail							C Sign,
	C:	Sub <sup>n</sup> .	S.	C.	D.	Pr.		
Town G <sup>d</sup> .	1	-	1	-	1	-	4	40 } Br G <sup>ds</sup> .
L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis	.	-	.	-	1	-	1	12 } Lt Col Websters
Prov <sup>n</sup> . Wagg <sup>ns</sup> .	.	-	.	-	1	-	1	9 } Brigade
Prov <sup>t</sup> Guard	.	-	.	-	1	-	1	9
	<hr/>							
			3	-	3	-	.	30
Kello's Mills	.	-	1	-	1	-	1	20 } Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose
M G <sup>l</sup> Leslies	.	-	.	-	.	-	1	6 } & N C Vol <sup>rs</sup>
Cattle	.	-	.	-	.	-	1	6
	<hr/>							
			1	-	1	-	3	32

Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. for tomorrow Brig<sup>de</sup> Guards. Orderly Serj<sup>ts</sup>. for Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslies Reg<sup>t</sup> De Bose & N C Volunteers.

<sup>87</sup> Exemption from a duty because already detailed on a superior duty.



*Brigade Orders*

Corp<sup>l</sup>. Sirman, with three of the best Carpenters & all the Collar & Harness Makers of the Brigade, to be at L<sup>t</sup> McLeod's Tent tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup> by day break.

N B: The whole of the Smiths & Tanners of the Brigade at present Employ'd to be Excused duty (tho expected to Conform to Camp Hours in the Evening) 'till further orders

*Brigade Morn<sup>g</sup>. Orders 24<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup> 1781*

The Picq<sup>ts</sup>. of the Brigade will be in future of the foll<sup>g</sup>. Strength. out by Gen<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara Yesterday.

		Serjt.	Corp <sup>ls</sup> .	Drum <sup>r</sup> .	Private
One Off <sup>r</sup> .	Brigade { First Batt <sup>n</sup> .	2	- 3	- 1	- 25
	Second Batt <sup>n</sup> .	2	- 3	- 1	- 25
	L <sup>t</sup> . Inf <sup>ry</sup> .	1	- 2	- .	- 12
	Grenad <sup>rs</sup> .	1	- 2	- .	- 12
Total 1 Officer		6	- 10	- 2	- 74

This picq<sup>t</sup>. will mount to day at 12 o'Clock but in future will be reliev'd one hour before day break in the Morning, the old picquet will remain with the New one till 8 oClock in the Morning when they will return to Camp the Ground to be Occupied by the picquet as pointed out by Gen<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara yesterday.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. HILLSBOROUGH,  
24<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781.

Parole, *Canterbury*

C Sign, *Rutland*

*Detail*

	Capt	Sub <sup>n</sup>	S.	C.	Pr.	
L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis's G <sup>d</sup> .	.	- .	- 1	- 1	- 12	} Guards
Prov <sup>n</sup> . Wag <sup>n</sup> . G <sup>d</sup> .	.	- .	- 1	- 1	- 9	
Cattle G <sup>d</sup>	.	- .	- .	- 1	- 6	
	.	- .	- 2	- 3	- 27	
Kello's Mill	.	- 1	- 1	- 1	- 20	} L Col Websters.
Prov <sup>t</sup> . G <sup>d</sup> .	.	- .	- 1	- 1	- 9	
M Gl Leslie	.	- .	- .	- 1	- 6	
	.	- 1	- 2	- 3	- 35	
Town Guard	1	- 1	- 1	- 4	- 40	} Reg <sup>t</sup> Bose & N C V



Q<sup>r</sup> Master for tomorrow L<sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade, Orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. at M G<sup>l</sup> Leslie's, Brigade of Guards.

Gen<sup>l</sup>. After Orders 24<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781

The Bat Horses to be Loaded & the Troops Under Arms ready to March precisely at four OClock this Afternoon. A Working party consisting of one Capt: Two Sub<sup>ns</sup> 6 Serj<sup>ts</sup>. 6 Corp<sup>ls</sup> 3 Drum<sup>rs</sup>. 100 prs to Assemble at the Town Guard in Hillsborough tomorrow morn<sup>g</sup>. at 7 oClock.

	Capt:	Sub <sup>n</sup> .	Serj <sup>ts</sup>	C.	D.	Pr
Guards	1	.	2	2	1	35
L C Websters	.	1	2	1	1	40
Reg <sup>t</sup> Bose & N C V	.	1	2	2	1	25
Total	1	- 2	- 6	- 5	- 3	- 100

The Men to March from their respective Camps with Arms.

Morning Orders. 25<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781

A Foraging party Consisting of 2 Serj<sup>ts</sup>. 2 Corp<sup>ls</sup>. & 24 private under the Com<sup>d</sup>. of Q<sup>r</sup> Master Furnivall will parade in the open Field in Front of the Brigade at Nine OClock.—Officers are desir'd to send Horses enough to bring Forage for two or Three days.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. WILEYS PLANTATION,  
25<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781.  
C Sign,

Parole,

Detail

	C:	Sub:	S:	C:	P.				
L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis's G <sup>d</sup>	.	-	.	-	1	- 12	} G <sup>ds</sup>		
Prov <sup>n</sup> . Waggon	.	-	.	-	1	- 9			
M G <sup>l</sup> Leslie	.	-	.	-	2	- 3		- 27	
Town G <sup>d</sup>	1	-	2	-	3	-	70	L C Websters	
Prov <sup>t</sup> G <sup>d</sup>	.	-	.	-	2	-	21	} R Bose & N C Vol <sup>rs</sup> .	
Cattle	.	-	.	-	.	-	1		- 6
	.	-	.	-	2	-	3		- 27

Q<sup>r</sup> Master to morrow Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose.

After Orders

The Bat Horses to be Loaded & the Troops under Arms ready to march at 1/2 past 5 OClock tomorrow morning in the foll<sup>g</sup> Order. Advanc'd Guard Consisting of the Cavalry, L<sup>t</sup> Inf<sup>ry</sup>. Guards & Yagers, under the Com<sup>d</sup>. of L<sup>t</sup> Col. Tarlton



2 Three pounders  
 Brigade of Guards  
 2 Six pounders,  
 Reg<sup>t</sup>. De Bose  
 N N C Volunteers.

Bat Horses  
 2 Six pounders  
 L<sup>t</sup> Col: Websters Brigade, a  
 Detachm<sup>t</sup>. of Cavalry

CAMP NEAR THE HAW RIVER,  
 27<sup>th</sup> Feb 81.

C Sign, *Portland*  
 27<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781.

The Army will be under Arms & ready to march precisely at Ten OClock this Morning.

### *Brigade Orders*

It is expected that in future no Bat Men or Servants presume to quit the Camp for the purpose (or under pretence) of Foraging but by General order or on Application to the Commanding Officer of the Brigade.

CAMP NEAR THE HAW RIVER,  
 28<sup>th</sup>. Feb: 81.

The Army will Forage this Morn<sup>g</sup>. at 8 oClock this Morn<sup>g</sup>. the whole to Assemble at the Guns, the Reg<sup>ts</sup>. will send the Usual proportion of Men & Off<sup>rs</sup>.

HEAD QUARTERS FREELANDS,  
 28<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781.

Parole, *Vienna*

C Sign, *Prague*

### *Detail*

		S:	C:	Pr.
Brig <sup>de</sup> . Guards	L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis's G <sup>d</sup>	1	1	- 12
	Cattle	.	- 1	- 6
	Gen <sup>l</sup> Hosp <sup>l</sup>	.	- 1	- 3
		1.	3.	21
L <sup>t</sup> Col. Websters Br <sup>de</sup> . Prov <sup>t</sup> G <sup>d</sup> .		1.	2.	21
Reg <sup>t</sup> Bose & N C V.	M G <sup>l</sup> Leslies	.	1	- 6
	Prov <sup>n</sup> Waggons	.	1	- 6
		:	2:	12

Q<sup>r</sup> Master for the day Brigade of Guards. Orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. for Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslie. L<sup>t</sup> Col Websters Br<sup>de</sup>.

Memorandum. A Watch found by the Regt of Rose the owner may have it from the Adj<sup>t</sup> of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. on proving his property.



HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. FREELANDS PLANTATION,  
28<sup>th</sup>. Febr<sup>y</sup>. 1781.

*After Orders*

The Bat Horses to be Loaded & the Troops under Arms ready to march precisely at Six OClock to Morrow morning in the following Order.

Cavalry,	} Advance Guard	Reg <sup>t</sup> . De Bose,
Jagers,		Roy <sup>l</sup> . N. C. Volunteers,
L <sup>t</sup> Inf <sup>ry</sup> Guards		Two, Six pounders,
Two, Three pounders,		L <sup>t</sup> Col. Webster's Brigade,
Brigade of Guards,		Bat Horses & Waggons of the
Two Six pounders,		Army

A Capt<sup>n</sup> Three Sub<sup>ns</sup>. & 150 Men from L<sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade, with a Detachm<sup>t</sup>. of Cavalry will March in the Rear of the Waggons.

March 1<sup>st</sup>. 1781.

*Br: Ord<sup>rs</sup>.*

A Foraging party consisting of 1 Off<sup>r</sup>. 2 Serj<sup>ts</sup>. 2 Corp<sup>ls</sup>. 1 Drum<sup>r</sup>. & 24 pr. to Assemble at the Guns as soon as the Bat Horses arrive.

CAMP SMITH'S PLANTATION,  
1<sup>st</sup>. Mar. 1781.

Parole, *Annapolis*

C Sign, *Hague*

The Reg<sup>ts</sup>. relieve their duties as per last Detail

*Brigade Orders*

It is B<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara's orders that the Officers Commanding Companies cause an immediate Inspection of the Articles of Cloathing at present in the possession of the women in their Companies & an exact Account taken thereof by the Pay Serj<sup>ts</sup>. after which their Necessaries are to be regularly examin'd at proper opportunities; and every Article found in Addition thereto, Burnt at the Head of the Company; Except such as have been fairly purchas'd on Application to the Commanding Officers & regularly added to their former List by the Serj<sup>ts</sup>. as above. The Off<sup>rs</sup>. are likewise order'd to make these Examinations at such times & in such a manner as to prevent these Women (Suppos'd to be the Source of the most infamous plunder<sup>g</sup>.) from evading the purport of this order.

NB: This Inspection to be made at four OClock this day.

A Woman having been Robb'd of a Watch a Black Silk Handkerchief a Gallon of Peach Brandy & one Shirt, & as by the description, by a Soldier of the Guards the Camp, & every Man's Kit is to be Search'd is to be immediately Search'd for the same by the Officers of the Brigade.



*Brigade Morning Orders 2<sup>nd</sup>. March 1781*

A foraging party consisting of 1 Officer 2 Serj<sup>ts</sup>. 2 Corp<sup>ls</sup>. & 24 private to Assemble at the Guns this Morn<sup>g</sup>. at 8 oClock, with the Bat Horses.

Notwithstanding every order, every entreaty that Lord Cornwallis has given to the Army to prevent the Shamefull & Dangerous practice of plundering & Distressing the Country & those orders back'd by every Effort that can have been made by Br. Gen<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara, he is Shock'd to find this Evil still prevails, & Ashamed to observe that the frequent Complaints he receives from Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. of the Irregularity of the G<sup>ds</sup>. particularly Affects the Credit of this Corps: He therefore calls upon the Officers, Non Commission'd Officers (& those men who are yet possessed of the feelings of Humanity & Actuated by the True principles of Soldiers *The Love of their Country, The Good of the Service; And the Honor of their own Corps*) to assist with the same indefatigable diligence the Gen<sup>l</sup> himself is Determin'd to persevere in—In order to Detect & punish all Men & Women so Offending, with the Utmost Severity & Example—

The Gen<sup>l</sup>. is Convinc'd the Exertions of the Officers alone will not so immediately bring about this reformation as is requisite but he trusts he may have the greatest dependence on the Assistance of the Non Commissioned Officers, & every good Soldier, many of whom he knows are above those Practices.

The Gen<sup>l</sup>. has wish'd not to trouble the Men with too frequent Roll Calls, but he is Sorry to find his Intentions are frustrated by their irregularity & is therefore oblig'd to order the Most frequent Roll Calls, & that all Men absent theref<sup>m</sup>. Shall be deem'd disobedient of orders, tried, & punish'd before the Comp<sup>y</sup>., on the Spot; Women to attend all Roll Calls in the Rear of the Companies (Except such as are in the Service of Officers) any, and every one found absent, to be immed<sup>y</sup> Whipp'd & Drumm'd out of the Brigade.

The Com<sup>ds</sup>. are desir'd to proceed to the trial of those Men offending Yesterday, & to put the Sentence of the Court Martial in Execution immediately, in the presence of all the Officers.

NB: The Women to attend all Punishments.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. SMITH'S PLANTATION,  
2<sup>nd</sup>. Mar: 1781.

Parole, <i>Stockholm</i>		C Sign, <i>Bergen</i>				
		<i>Detail</i>		S:	C:	P
Brig <sup>de</sup> . Guards	{	Lord Cornwallis's	G <sup>d</sup> .	1	-	12
		Cattle	d <sup>o</sup> .		1	- 6
		Doct <sup>r</sup> Grant's	d <sup>o</sup> .		1	- 3
	Total				<hr/> 1	- 3

Orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. at Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslie's—Guards. To relieve at Three oClock.



*After Orders*

All passages granted to persons going out of Camp are to be taken from them at the Out Posts & return'd to Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. A work<sup>s</sup> party with Arms Cons<sup>s</sup>. of 1 Capt. 1 Sub<sup>n</sup> & 50 Rank & file with the pioneers of the diff<sup>t</sup>. Corps to parade at 6 oClock to mor<sup>w</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>. in front of the Brigade of Guards.

*Detail for the Work<sup>g</sup> party*

	C	Sub:	Serjt	R	& F
Br G <sup>ds</sup>	1	-	.	-	1 - 25
L Col Websters	.	-	1	-	1 - 25
	1	-	1	-	2 - 50

*Brig<sup>de</sup>. After Orders*

The picq<sup>ts</sup>. of the Brigade to be reliev'd one hour before day break to mor<sup>w</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>.—the old picq<sup>ts</sup>. to remain with the New 'till Sun Rise.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup> SMITH'S PLANTATION,  
3<sup>rd</sup>. Mar. 1781.

Parole, *Gibraltar*

C Sign, *Lisbon*

*Detail*

	S.	C.	Pr
Br { L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis G <sup>d</sup>	1	-	1 - 12
G <sup>ds</sup> . { Prov <sup>n</sup> Wagg <sup>ns</sup> .	.	-	1 - 6
{ Hosp <sup>l</sup>	.	-	1 - 3
	1:	3.	21
L <sup>t</sup> Col Webster, Pro <sup>t</sup> . G <sup>d</sup> .	1	-	1 - 21
N C Vol <sup>n</sup> . Gl Leslie	.	-	1 - 6

Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> LC Websters Brigade, & orderly Serjt<sup>t</sup>. to Gen<sup>l</sup> Leslie—the Cattle G<sup>d</sup>. to be taken off

*Br. Orders*

A Serjt<sup>t</sup>. Corp<sup>l</sup> & 12 private to parade immediately, with 1 Sub: 1 Serjt<sup>t</sup>. 1 Corp<sup>l</sup> & 18 private of LC Websters Brigade at the Waggon, as an Escort.

*Brigade Morning Orders 4<sup>th</sup>. March 1781*

The Picq<sup>ts</sup>. to be reliev'd as before order'd, the Off<sup>rs</sup>. will continue with the whole of the Picq<sup>ts</sup>. till 8 oClock in the morning when they will all return to Camp leaving a Serjt<sup>t</sup>. & 18 private on Each Picquet—The Officers of the Picquets for the day will Visit them in the Course thereof, & rejoin With the rest of them at half past four in the Afternoon; or in case of any Alarm or Firing immediately March to their



post for which purpose the Men will be ready Accoutred & their Arms filed separte from the Batt<sup>ns</sup>. as an Inlying Picquet.

HEAD QUARTERS SMITH'S PLANTATION,  
4<sup>th</sup> March 1781.

Parole, *Manheim*

C Sign, *Torbay*

Details for the Brigade of Guards the Same as yesterday. Orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. for M G<sup>l</sup> Leslie, Br: G<sup>ds</sup>.

Mem<sup>dm</sup>. When the Corps send to the Cattle pen for their Meat, it is requested that a Q<sup>r</sup> Mast<sup>r</sup> or Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Serj<sup>t</sup>. attend with them.

Q<sup>r</sup> Master to Mor<sup>w</sup>. North Carolinians. Orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. for M G<sup>l</sup> Leslie: L C Websters Brig<sup>de</sup>.

#### Orders Repeated Dated

Head Quarters Charlotte Town 5<sup>th</sup>. Octr. 1780

The Officers & Soldiers, of this Army, have given such repeated proofs of their Zeal and Attachment to the Interests of their King and Country, that Lord Cornwallis can have no doubt of their paying the most exact attention to them in every Instance by which they can be Materially affected.

He desires the Officers & Soldiers to reflect that the great object of his Majesty's forces in this Country is to protect & Secure his Majesty's faithfull & Loyal Subjects, & to Encourage & Assist them in Arming; & opposing the Tyranny & Oppression of the Rebels. His Lordship therefore recommends it to them in the Strongest manner, to treat with kindness all those who have Sought protection in the British Army, & to believe that Altho their Ignorance & want of Skill in Military Affairs, may at present render their appearance Awkward in a Veteran & Experienc'd Army; When they are properly Arm'd, Appointed, & Instructed, they Will shew the same Arduor, & Courage, in the Cause of Great Britain, As their Countrymen who repair'd to the Royal Standard in the Northern Colonies.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. SMITH'S HOUSE,  
5<sup>th</sup>. Mar: 1781.  
C Sign,

Parole,

*Detail*

		S	-	C	-	Private
Brig <sup>de</sup> . Guards	L <sup>d</sup> . Cornwallis's	1	-	1	-	12
	Hosp <sup>l</sup>	.	-	1	-	3
		<hr/>				
		1	-	2	-	15
L <sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade	{	M G <sup>l</sup> Leslies	.	1	-	6
		Prov <sup>n</sup> . Waggons	.	1	-	6
		Cattle Guard	.	1	-	6
			.	3	-	18



Bose's } Provost Guard 1 - 1 - 18  
 Brig<sup>de</sup>.

Q<sup>r</sup> Master for tomorrow, Brigade Guards, & orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. for M G<sup>l</sup> Leslie.

N B: Ten days Salt to be Issued to the Troops immediately.

*Gen<sup>l</sup> After Orders 5<sup>th</sup> March*

The Army will be in ready to March to morrow morning, at 1/2 past 5 o'Clock.

*Order of March*

Cavalry	}	Advance G <sup>d</sup> . Com <sup>dd</sup> . by L <sup>t</sup> Col Tarlton
Yagers		
L <sup>t</sup> Infantry G <sup>ds</sup> .		

Two Three pounders,	Brig <sup>de</sup> . Guards
L <sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade,	Bat Horses,
Two Six Pounders	Waggons,
Reg <sup>t</sup> . De Bose,	Lt Col Hamiltons Corps,
Two Six pounders,	An Off <sup>r</sup> . & 12 Dragoons.

The detachm<sup>t</sup>. under the Com<sup>d</sup>. of Captain Champigny to Join their respective Reg<sup>ts</sup>. The Militia under the Command of Col Field to Flank the Bat Horses; that under the Com<sup>d</sup>. of Col Bryan<sup>88</sup> to flank the Waggons. A Detachm<sup>t</sup>. of an Officer & twenty Men from each of the Reg<sup>ts</sup>. from each of the Reg<sup>ts</sup>. of L<sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade 20 Men from the Brigade of Guards & an Off<sup>r</sup>. & Twenty Men from the Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose under the Command of a Capt<sup>n</sup>. of L C Websters Brigade to march with L<sup>t</sup> Col Hamiltons Regt. in the rear of the Waggons. the men for this detachment of the Worst Marchers.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup>. ALTONS HOUSE,  
 6<sup>th</sup> Mar 1781.

*Brig<sup>de</sup>. Orders*

The picq<sup>ts</sup>. of the Brigade to Consist of one Off<sup>r</sup> & 50 private to be posted agreeable to the directions of the Com<sup>dts</sup>.

*Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders*

The Bat Horses to be Loaded & the Troops to be under Arms ready to March at 7 oClk toMorrow morning

*Brig<sup>de</sup>. Orders*

As the army is ordered to be ready to March at 7 oClock tomor<sup>w</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>. the Picq<sup>ts</sup> will not be doubled agreeable to the Standing Orders

<sup>88</sup> Col. Samuel Bryan, who headed a rising of loyalists on the Yadkin in 1780 and lost lost all of his property by confiscation. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 409; Tarleton, *op. cit.*, 91.



of the Brigade but the Whole will be Accoutred a Q<sup>r</sup> of an hour before Day break.

*Br Orders. 7<sup>th</sup> March 1781*

A Foraging party Consisting of 1 Off<sup>r</sup> & 30 private with the Bat Horses of the Brig<sup>de</sup>. to parade at the Guns immed<sup>y</sup>.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup>.,  
7<sup>th</sup>. March 1780 [1781]  
C Sign, Milford

*Detail for this day.*

		S	C	P
G <sup>ds</sup> {	L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis G <sup>d</sup>	1	-	12
	Cattle	.	-	6
	Genl Hosp <sup>l</sup>	.	-	3
	Total	1.	3:	21

Q<sup>r</sup> Mr. Brig<sup>de</sup> G<sup>ds</sup>. & Ord<sup>y</sup> Serj<sup>t</sup>. to Genl Leslies. Detail for tomorrow the Same as for this day.

*Brig<sup>de</sup>. Morn<sup>g</sup>. Orders 8<sup>th</sup> March 81*

The Off<sup>r</sup> with  $\frac{1}{2}$  the picqts to be Calld into Camp at 8 oClock this Morning (and return to their post agreeable to former Orders) every other Centry will be taken Off during this interval of time, taking Care to leave all Such posted as Command Roads or approaches to the Camp.

H Q<sup>rs</sup>  
8<sup>th</sup> Mar. 178[1]

The Army will March at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 OClock this Morning

*Order of March*

Hamilton's Corps	Reg <sup>t</sup> of Bose,
Bat Horses	Brig <sup>de</sup> Guards
Waggons	2 Three pounders
two Six pounders	Legion
L Col Websters Brig <sup>de</sup>	L <sup>t</sup> Inf <sup>y</sup> Guards
two Six pounders,	Jagers

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. DUFFIELDS,  
8<sup>th</sup>. Mar 1781.  
C Sign,

The bat Horses to be Loaded & the Troops Under Arms ready to march at 7 oClock tomor<sup>w</sup>. morning in the following Order.

Jagers	N Carolinians
Two Three pounders,	Two Six pounders
Brig <sup>de</sup> . Guards	L <sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brig <sup>de</sup>
Two Six pounders,	Bat Horses & Waggons
Reg <sup>t</sup> of Bose	



One Batt<sup>n</sup>. of L C Websters Brig<sup>de</sup> With an Off<sup>r</sup>. & 20 Dragoons will March in the Rear of the Waggon<sup>s</sup>. The Lt Inf<sup>ry</sup>. of the G<sup>ds</sup>. will send for their flour to the Com<sup>rys</sup>. at 5 oClock in the Morn<sup>g</sup> the Brig<sup>de</sup> of G<sup>ds</sup>. at 1/2 past five.

*Brigade Orders 9<sup>th</sup> March 1781*

A foraging party of 1 Off<sup>r</sup> & 30 private with all the bat Horses of the Brigade to parade at the Guns immed<sup>y</sup>.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup>. GORRELS PLANTATION,  
9<sup>th</sup> Mar 81.  
C Sign,

*Brig<sup>de</sup> Morning Orders 10<sup>th</sup> Mar. 81*

A foraging party of one Off<sup>r</sup> & 30 priv<sup>te</sup> With all the Bat Horses of the Brigade to Parade at the Guns, at 8 oClock this Morn<sup>g</sup>. Six days Salt to be Issued to the Troops Immed<sup>y</sup>.

H<sup>d</sup> Q<sup>rs</sup>. GORREL'S PLANTATION,  
10<sup>th</sup> March 1781.  
C Sign,

		S	C	Pr
G <sup>ds</sup>	L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis's G <sup>d</sup>	1	-	12
	Cattle	.	-	6
Total		1	-	18
L C Webster Brig <sup>de</sup>	Prov <sup>t</sup>	1	-	20
	Hosp <sup>l</sup>	.	-	6
Total		1	-	26
Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose	Prov <sup>n</sup> . Waggon <sup>s</sup>	.	-	6
	Genl Leslie <sup>s</sup>	.	-	6
Total		.	-	12

*Gen<sup>l</sup> After Orders 1 oClock 10 Mar 1781*

A Capt<sup>n</sup> & 30 private will parade Immed<sup>y</sup>. from the Brig<sup>de</sup> of G<sup>ds</sup>. & March to Reinforce a Sub<sup>n</sup> & 20 private from the Reg<sup>t</sup> De Bose at the Mills, the Off<sup>r</sup> Will receive a Guide from Head Q<sup>rs</sup>.



HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. GORRELLS PLANTATION,  
10<sup>th</sup>. Mar: 1781.

*After Orders*

The Bat Horses to be Loaded & the Troops under Arms ready to March at ½ past five oClock to Mor<sup>w</sup>. morn<sup>g</sup>. in the foll<sup>g</sup>. Order.

Cavalry	} Advanc'd Guard under Lt Col <sup>l</sup> . Tarleton	Reg <sup>t</sup> De Bose
Jagers		North Carolinians
L <sup>t</sup> Inf <sup>ry</sup> Guards		2 Six pounders,
2 Three pounders		Brig <sup>de</sup> . of Guards.
L <sup>t</sup> Col Websters Brigade		Bat Horses & Waggons
Two Six pounders,		

A Batt<sup>n</sup>. of the Brig<sup>de</sup>. of Guards with an Off<sup>r</sup>. & 12 Dragoons will March in the rear of the Waggons, the Militia will flank the Bat Horses & Waggons as Usual.

*Br Orders*

The 1<sup>st</sup>. Batt<sup>n</sup> Guards will form the Rear Guard.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. DILLON'S MILL,  
11<sup>th</sup> Mar: 1781.  
C Sign,

Parole,  
Detail as Usual

*Morning Orders ½ past 7 OClock, 12<sup>th</sup>. March 1781*

A Foraging party to parade at the Barn opposite Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. at 8 oClock this Morning all the Bat Horses of the Army will Assemble & the Covering party for this Service.

	Off <sup>rs</sup> .	S	C.	Pr
Proportion for the Guards	3:	6	- 6.	110

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. MCGUESTIONES [McCUISTON?],  
12<sup>th</sup>. March 81.

Parole, *Newfoundland*

C Sign, *Bedford*

*Detail*

Br	{	L <sup>d</sup> Cornwallis G <sup>d</sup> .	Sub: Serj <sup>t</sup>	Corp <sup>l</sup>	Pr
G <sup>ds</sup> .		M Gl Leslie	1	- 1	- 12
		Hosp <sup>l</sup> Waggons	.	- 1	- 6
			.	- 1	- 3
		Total	<hr/> 1 - 3 - 21		







*B Ord<sup>rs</sup>.*

Off<sup>r</sup>. for the above duty C Horneck; for the Mill duty this day at 12 oClock, Ens<sup>n</sup> Stuart. For picq<sup>t</sup> to Morrow Morn<sup>g</sup>, Capt Swanton.

H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>.14<sup>th</sup> March 1781.Parole, *Kingsbridge*C Sign, *Amboy*

Brig<sup>de</sup> of Guards will relieve L<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis. Guard, 1 Serj<sup>t</sup> 1 Corp<sup>l</sup> 12 pr. The Q<sup>r</sup> Masters of the day will in future Attend the delivery of prov<sup>ns</sup>. to the different Corps & see that each Corps is properly & Regularly Serv'd in due proportion & Report all deficiencies to Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. Q<sup>r</sup> Master for this day Brigade of Guards—

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. After Orders, 14<sup>th</sup> March 81*

The army to be under arms & the bat Horses Loaded ready to march precisely At half past five O'Clock tomorrow Morning In two Columns in the following Order

*Left Column*

Jagers	}	Advance G <sup>d</sup> . Comm <sup>d</sup> . by L <sup>t</sup> C. Tarlton
L <sup>t</sup> Infantry Guards		
Cavalry		
L <sup>t</sup> . Col <sup>o</sup> . Websters Brig <sup>e</sup> .		
Reg <sup>t</sup> . D <sup>e</sup> . Bose		
Brig <sup>e</sup> . of Guards		
Guns as Usual		

*Right Column*

An Officer & 12 Dragoons  
L<sup>t</sup>. Colo: Hamiltons Reg<sup>t</sup>

A Detachment of two Capt<sup>ns</sup>. three Sub<sup>n</sup>. & one Hundred Men from the Reg<sup>ts</sup>. Which form the left Column to be Composed of Serviceable men but not the best marchers.

*Detail for the Detachment*

	Capt <sup>n</sup> .	Sub <sup>n</sup> .	S:	C:	P
Brig <sup>e</sup> . of Guards	1		2.	2.	35
L <sup>t</sup> . C. Websters Brig <sup>e</sup> .	1	2	3.	3.	45
Reg <sup>t</sup> . D <sup>e</sup> . Bose	.	1.	1.	1.	20
Total	2	3.	6.	6.	100

The troops to send for meal at 1/2 past 4 in the Morning The Baggage will move With the right Column

*B. Orders*

The Detachment To be form'd (as Specify'd by Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders) from the whole of the Brig<sup>e</sup>. Capt<sup>n</sup>. Horneck, the Officer for this Duty.



*Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders 16<sup>th</sup> March 1781*

It is Expected as the Public Service requires it that all arms Accoutrements &c taken from the Enemy or not in Immediat use of the Corps (from the Kill'd & Wounded of the army) are given in Immediately those of the Enemy to H<sup>d</sup>. Q<sup>rs</sup>. Those spare arms of the Corps to L<sup>t</sup>. McCloud, Commanding the Royal Artillery who will give receipts for the same.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>.  
16<sup>th</sup> March 1781.

Lord Cornwallis, desires the Off<sup>rs</sup>. & Soldiers To Accept of his Warmest Acknowledgements for the verry Extraordinary Valour displaid in the Action of Yesterday,<sup>89</sup> he will Endeavour To do Justice to their Meritt in his representation to their Sovereign of the Commander in Chief, and shall Consider it as the Greatest Honour of his life to have been Placed at the head of so Gallant an Army—

He gives his Particular t[h]anks to M: G: Leslie for the Spirited & Judicious atack which he Conducted on the left Wing of the Enemy—to B: G: O'Hara; & L<sup>t</sup>. Colo. Webster for the Emminent Services which They Render at the head of their respective Brigades.—to B: G: Howard, & to the Officers who Commanded the Battalions & Corps, of the Guards, & British lines—

To Major Dupy,<sup>90</sup> who Emminently Distinguished him self at the head of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose,—to Capt<sup>n</sup>. Ryder, who Commanded the Jagers. To Lt. Colo. Tarlton, for the Spirit & ability shewn by him in the Conduct of the Cavalry, to Lt. McCloud, for his able, Manegement of the Artillery—

He must likewise Acknowledge the Assistance of his Ai de Camps, Capt<sup>n</sup>. Brodderick,<sup>91</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup>. Ross, & L<sup>t</sup>. Holding of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Shelley Aide Camp to M: G: Leslie, Maj<sup>r</sup>. Despaired:<sup>92</sup> D: P<sup>r</sup>: A: General And Maj<sup>r</sup> of Brig<sup>e</sup>. England, Acting as Q<sup>r</sup>. Master General, & to the Majors of Brig<sup>e</sup> Colins, Bowes, & Manley.<sup>93</sup>

*After Orders*

Seventeen Waggons to set out at Eight O'Clock tomorrow Morning under the Escort of L<sup>t</sup>. Colo: Hamiltons Corps, & an Off<sup>r</sup>. & 12 Dragoons Each Waggon to Carry as many of the Wounded men as can Possibly be put into it—M<sup>r</sup>. Grant, is desired to take particular care that the men who are sent away in the Waggons tomorrow are such as cannot Possibly Either Ride or walk & at the Same time that their Cases

<sup>89</sup> The battle of Guilford Court House.

<sup>90</sup> Mayor Du Puy.

<sup>91</sup> Henry Brodrick, 1758-85, promoted to major in the summer of 1781 and afterwards lieutenant-colonel of the Coldstream Guards. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 408.

<sup>92</sup> Perhaps Deputy Adjutant-General John Despard, afterwards general, who had a long military career in different parts of the world. He died in 1829. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 427.

<sup>93</sup> John Manley. *Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy*, II, 444.



will admit of their being again with the army, & a Proper Attention to this Order is of the Greatest Consequence. Mr. Grant is requested to be verry Exact in seeing it put Properly in to Execution, a small Guard will be given by each Corps to take Care of their Respective Wounded, & an Officer will attend from Lt. Colo: Websters Brige. Mr Grant will order a proportion of the Mates Department to attend

*Brig<sup>e</sup>. Orders*

A Serjt. Corp<sup>l</sup>. & 12 from the Brig<sup>e</sup>. Guards Will form this Guard.

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. Morning Orders 17<sup>th</sup> March 1781*

The army will forage at ten O'Clock this Morning, all the bat horses & Covering Parties of the different Corps will assemble at the Provoasts near Head Q<sup>rs</sup>. a Q<sup>r</sup>. before Ten,

*After Morning Orders 9 O'Clock*

All the Women of the army Except one a Comp<sup>y</sup>. to be Immediately sent after the Wounded men of the Army.

*B: Orders*

As the returns given in Yesterday are by no means Acurate from the Hurry in which they were taken,—Companies are desired to give returns Agreeable to the anexd form with all Explanation on the back thereof, these returns to be given in to Mr. Willson who will give them to the Maj<sup>r</sup>. of Brig<sup>e</sup>. by twelve O'Clock.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>. GUILDFORD COURT HOUSE,  
17<sup>th</sup> March 81.

Lord Cornwallis desires that the troops will believe that he is thoroughly sensible of the distress they suffer for the want of flower or meal which is Unfortunatly Increased By the Accidental Breaking of Dents mill Last Night, their Continuing here at Present is Necessary for the Safety of their Wounded Companions, he knows that it is UnNecessary to add any thing on this Subject As the Spirit of this Army has so often Shewn it self as Superior to the Hardships of Hunger & fatigue, as to the Danger of Battle.

*Detail for this day*

		Serjt.	Corp <sup>ls</sup> .	Private
L <sup>d</sup> . Cornwallis	G <sup>d</sup>	1	-	12
G <sup>l</sup> . Leslies	d <sup>o</sup>		1	6
Waggon	d <sup>o</sup>		1	6
Total		1	-	24



*Brig<sup>e</sup>. Orders*

Temporary Arrangement of the Brig<sup>e</sup>. in Companies.

Companies	Off <sup>rs</sup> . Rank & Name	Serj <sup>ts</sup>	Rank & file
Grenadiers	Capt <sup>ns</sup> . Cristie & Maitland	6	91
L <sup>t</sup> . Infantry	d <sup>o</sup> Dundass & Richardson	6	90
First Comp <sup>y</sup> .	L <sup>t</sup> . Col <sup>o</sup> . Lovelace	3	99
Second d <sup>o</sup>	Capt <sup>n</sup> . Horneck	3	99
L <sup>t</sup> Colo: Norton	Total 6	18	379

Explanation. The whole to be Considerd as one Batt<sup>n</sup>. 'Till further Orders.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>.,  
17<sup>th</sup> March 1781.

The Horses Intended to Carry the Wounded men are to be sent to the Hospital in front of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. of Bose at ½ past 7 O'Clock tomorrow Morning

*Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders*

The army to move at ten O'Clock in the following Order.

Reg <sup>t</sup> . Bose,	2: 3: Pounders
4: 6 Pounders	Jagers
L <sup>t</sup> . Colo: Websters Brig <sup>e</sup> .	L <sup>t</sup> Infantry
4: 6: Pounders	&
Brig <sup>e</sup> . Guards,	Cavalry

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>.,  
18<sup>th</sup> March 1781.

*Detail*

	Serj <sup>t</sup> .	Corp <sup>l</sup> .	Private
L <sup>d</sup> . Cornwallis G <sup>d</sup> .	1	1	12
G <sup>l</sup> . Leslies d <sup>o</sup>		1	6
Total	1	2	18

A Serjeant & 12 to Parade in the field to forage,

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>: TESIN'S [TISON?] PLANTATION,  
18<sup>th</sup> March

*Orders ten O'Clock at Night*

The Wounded men remaining at this Place, the Spare Ammunition Waggons of the Artillery & the bat Horses of the army to move at Nine O'Clock tomorrow Morning Under Escort of the Reg<sup>t</sup>. D<sup>e</sup>. Bose with 2: 6: Pounders & an Off<sup>r</sup>. & twenty Dragoons. The Surgeons & Mates of the different [?] are desired to attend at the barn where the wounded men are at 5 O'Clock tomorrow Morning.



HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>.,  
19<sup>th</sup> March 1781.

L<sup>d</sup>. Cornwallis G<sup>d</sup>.

S.	C.	Private
1.	1	- 12

Orderly Serj<sup>t</sup>. at M. G. Leslies, Guards. The Surgeons or mates of the different Corps are to draw the Provisions from the Commissary for the sick & Wounded of their Respective Corps.

*Morning Orders 20<sup>th</sup> March 81*

A foraging Party to Parade at 8 O'Clock this morning near the Hospital with all the bat Horses of the different Corps.

	S.	C.	P
Proportion for the Guards	1.	1	- 18

*Brig<sup>e</sup>. Orders, 20<sup>th</sup> March 1781*

The Companies will give in returns of all alterations &c between the 23<sup>d</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup>. & 1<sup>st</sup> March. The Companies will give in returns To the 15<sup>th</sup> March Account there for all Alteration since the first of March The usual form is to be observd in doing this & great Correctness to be observd the Adj<sup>t</sup>. will Examine these returns & give them in when Correct to the Maj<sup>r</sup> of Brig<sup>e</sup>.

Gen<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara, having receivd Complants that the sick & Wounded Men have not been regularly and Properly Victual'd of late, to prevent This Neglect in future he is pleased To atach Q<sup>r</sup>. M. Serj<sup>t</sup>. Hunt to the Hospital with one of the Q<sup>r</sup>. Master Corp<sup>ls</sup>. For this purpose, & also to direct that Serj<sup>t</sup>. Boddington, as long as his Wound obliges him to remain at the Hospital shall regulate & Inspect their Kettles Appointing for this purpose those Women that can be Spared from other avocations in the Hospital together With men under slight Wounds to Perform this duty for the rest.

All further regulations will be attend to from M<sup>r</sup> Rush, the Surgeon.

HEAD Q<sup>rs</sup>: CAMP, NEAR DEEP RIVER,  
20<sup>th</sup> March 81.

Parole,

Count<sup>r</sup>.,

*G<sup>l</sup>. Morning Orders*

James Hunter Esq<sup>r</sup>. is Appointed L<sup>t</sup>. Colo: of Militia & to receive the Arms & Parole of all Persons who Surrendered in the Proclamation of the 18<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>.<sup>94</sup> L<sup>t</sup>. Col<sup>o</sup>. Hunter's Passes are to be Respected at the out Posts as Comming from head Q<sup>rs</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> The proclamation is printed in Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781*, 312-13. He promised those surrendering themselves before April 12 a return to their homes and British protection.



*Detail*

		Serjt.	Corp <sup>ls</sup> .	Private
L <sup>d</sup> . Cornwallis G <sup>d</sup> .	} Brig <sup>e</sup> of G <sup>ds</sup>	1	-	12
G <sup>l</sup> . Leslie			1	- 6
Hosp <sup>l</sup> . Waggon			1	- 3
Cattle			1.	3
Total		1.	4.	24

*Brig<sup>e</sup>. Orders*

Lord Cornwallis having Signify'd To Brig<sup>e</sup>. G<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara that it is his Lordships wish that the Number of Bat Men Servants & Orderlys may be greatly decreased the Necessity of the Service requiring every means what ever may be used to Strengthen the files in each Corps, & that these Men permitted to Continue in Such Employ shall be of the worst Marchers.

Gen<sup>l</sup>. O'Hara is pleased to Make the following regulations for the Brig<sup>e</sup>. of Guards not doubting However Inconvenient for the Moment the Off<sup>rs</sup>. of the Brig<sup>e</sup> may feel the want of former Indulgences, they will not Suffer Such Consideration to way against The Interest they have Manefestly Shewn for the Public Service

	N <sup>o</sup>			N <sup>o</sup>
B <sup>e</sup> . Gen <sup>ls</sup>	2	G <sup>l</sup> . Staff Off <sup>rs</sup> .	1	Surgeons 1
Commdant	1	Reg <sup>l</sup> . Staff	1	between two
Comp <sup>s</sup> .	1	to each		

The whole to march with the baggage always Compleatly Armd & Appointed as other Soldiers & able to act for The defence of the whole, all Bat Men Exceeding the regulation to Join at 4 O'Clock this day & be orderd to take their tower of duty.

B: G: O'Hara, requests L<sup>t</sup>. Colo: Norton will see this Order Quickly Comply'd with, & a return to be given In (with their Names) in the Service of Off<sup>rs</sup>. when it is regulated the Wounded Off<sup>rs</sup> will have one bat man each Continued to them till they are fit for duty.

[*Concluded.*]



## BOOK REVIEWS

**The Country Church in North Carolina.** A study of the country churches in relation to the material progress of the State. By Jesse Marvin Ormond. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1931. Pp. xv, 369.)

This volume has an introduction by Dr. E. C. Branson, who thinks that it will be indispensable to those who would think through the problems with which it is concerned. With a great array of statistics gathered from the publications of the United States Census Bureau and of the boards and departments of our state government and from many other sources the author presents data "pertaining to the church of the white people as one of the social institutions on the rural areas of North Carolina." To put the rural church in proper setting Dr. Ormond gives in the first 31 pages of his work a general account of the State, its physical and economic conditions, climate, population, etc. Unfortunately he was writing before the population statistics of the 1930 census were available. In this part of his work he seems to have borrowed the spirit of glorification of North Carolina such as is contained in the pamphlet, *North Carolina a Good Place to Live*," from which he quotes. Possibly he would have done well to abbreviate this chapter, though all will approve his assumption that a complete picture of the rural church cannot be given except in its environment.

Part two, which has the heading, "The Counties and Their Country Churches," occupies the remainder of the volume. The counties are treated in alphabetical order with a display of data relating to each on such matters as geography, topography, towns, schools, railways, highways, area, agricultural products, population, and manufactures. Then follow the rural church data with comparative figures back to 1872. Rural churches are those in the open country and in places of not more than 1,500 inhabitants. A great help to the understanding of the reading matter is the full-page map of each county. On these maps are indicated the townships with their population, towns, railroads, highways, and sites of white country churches with the denomination of each shown by initials appended to their names. Though there are a few omissions of names of churches yet for the most part the maps are full and accurate and will prove most valuable. The data given in these county statements are satisfying and answer many questions as to number of churches, character of



buildings, number of members in the totals and on the average, and their denominations.

The last two chapters are devoted to a more general study of the county groups as a whole. In them the author discusses the character of the churches in regional groups, in agricultural as contrasted with industrial counties, in wealthier and poorer counties, in cotton growing and tobacco growing sections. He also shows the influence of urban populations on the country churches near them. His most striking comparison is that of religious conditions in counties with large numbers of tenant farmers and in others where the farmers own their own land; the blighting effects of farm tenantry is shown to be as pronounced in religious condition as in social and economic conditions.

Interpreting his data in their larger aspects, the author insists that there are too many country churches for white people in North Carolina. Their number is 5,226, one for every nine square miles of territory, which if evenly distributed would put every country church within three miles of four others. There is one church for each 260 of the white population; the average membership is 106; of the churches 1,019 have less than fifty members, and 320 less than 25. But the author does not tell in how many churches this small membership is inevitable because of location in mountain coves and on islands and in areas cut off by swamps and water. In point of ministerial service also there are too many country churches, for the same minister often serves four or more and finds it impossible to give proper attention to the needs of his several congregations. These small churches also have inadequate physical equipment and financial support. The author advises the consolidation of the weaker churches and the location of new church buildings on easily accessible sites on public highways. In place of the 3,876 one-room churches which are now found in the State we might have a fewer number of modern brick buildings adapted to the educational demands of the churches of today. With proper attention to grounds as well as to buildings these churches might become centers of the social and recreational as well as the religious activities of rural communities.

Dr. Ormond does not disguise the fact that he is a preacher as well as author. He must be making comparisons of amounts spent on automobiles and such things with the amounts invested in church



buildings. They are all very interesting but perhaps his readers would have gotten his meaning without such preachments.

G. W. PASCHAL.

Wake Forest, N. C.

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The Story of the Confederacy. By Robert Selph Henry. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1931. Pp. 514. \$5.00.)

Mr. Henry's book is essentially an accurate, comprehensive history of the Civil War, told by an intelligent, twentieth-century Southerner. The words "accurate" and "comprehensive" are used advisedly. No other single book in existence gives such a detailed and at the same time reliable account of the movements, achievements, successes and failures, both minor and major, of the Confederate forces. From Sumter to Appomattox, wherever and whenever any Confederate colonel marched his men up a hill—either to victory or back down again—there is, one might almost say, some mention of the incident in Mr. Henry's pages. At the same time he is not prevented from seeing the strategical wood for the tactical trees. His book is indeed rather notable for its clear understanding and vivid description of Civil War strategy. In Mr. Henry's pages the armies do not fight merely to see who can kill the most men in a given time, but to gain definite objectives, rather. In short, Mr. Henry makes the war take on an underlying unity and continuity.

But while Mr. Henry deals primarily with the war, other phases of Confederate history are not neglected. There is a short chapter on the secessionist movement, and a somewhat longer one on the organization of the Confederate government. There are, scattered through the book, brief accounts of the actual working of the government, especially the friction between the central government and the states. There is, of course, a short account of Confederate diplomacy. There are numerous sidelights on social conditions among the people at home. And since social and political conditions at the North had a very direct bearing upon the war, they, too, come in for some attention.

The special student of Confederate history will find here nothing newly discovered, and apparently very little, if anything, to quarrel with. Mr. Henry has studied his subject for years, knows it perhaps as well as any man living, and apparently has striven for



accuracy in all details. The general reader, however, will find several judgments which may somewhat surprise him. Thus, for example, most Southern folk are accustomed to think of the first year of the war as a Confederate success. But no, says, Mr. Henry, it was a year of disaster, marked by the loss of Fort Donelson and the half-victory at Shiloh, while the splitting of the Confederacy under Grant, Farragut and others was well under way. Only in Virginia, where the western part had been wrested from the Confederacy and erected into a new state, was there any clear Confederate gain, and even that was largely due to timorousness on the part of McClellan. Again, it may surprise some readers to learn that Gettysburg was not lost on the third day, but on the first, when the Confederates quit fighting at dark when they might soon have taken Culp's Hill, and again on the second day, when Longstreet failed to carry the Emmitsburg Road. The whole third day's fighting against a larger army well entrenched was a ghastly blunder, an error from which Stonewall Jackson saved Lee at Sharpsburg, and from which he would almost certainly have saved him, either by preventive tactics or by dissuasion, had he been alive at Gettysburg.

Lee was imprudent on the offensive at times when Jackson was not at hand, but on the whole Mr. Henry has the sincerest admiration for Lee, both as a man and as a military commander. Next to Lee, in Mr. Henry's estimation, stands Stonewall Jackson. Readers will be interested in his sympathetic sketches of these two men, and also in his fair-minded and more or less sympathetic sketches of the other major Confederate leaders, both military and civil. He has the knack of making his men seem alive; he writes almost as if he had known them in the flesh.

Mr. Henry writes as a Southern man, but he has been fair to the North and to the Northern leaders. He writes without a trace of bigotry. His style, too, is well suited to his purpose; he never lapses into dullness nor strains after effect. His publishers have, it may be admitted, some justification for describing his book as "lucid, terse, animated, extremely readable." It is a better book than this reviewer, on opening it, had expected to find.

CHARLES LEE SNIDER.

Denton, N. C.



On Understanding Women. By Mary R. Beard. (New York: Longmans Green and Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 532. \$3.50.)

This somewhat equivocal title might signify several things. It might cover a collection of biographical sketches with an underlying current of apology, or appreciation, or sentiment. It might hold the key to the charge that "women is fickle, constant in nothing." Or it might be a book of advice to smooth the maladjustments in family relations accompanying, or as some would say caused by, the feminist rebellion. But no one of these approaches would be Mary R. Beard's. To savor the full flavor of her work one should know that it is predicated upon a distinctly superior person's considered reaction to the world in which she has found herself. Mrs. Beard believes in progress. She sees it in history. She is not a cyclist. Perhaps we may say she is more than a cyclist. Not minimizing the tasks that lie ahead of us she is yet confident of the possibilities in social engineering. The challenge of the tasks is such that the combined efforts of both men and women will be required. The thoughtful hopefulness that must be a fundamental part of Mrs. Beard's admirable orientation to her day inheres in the first five parts of her activist treatment of her subject which might have been phrased *On the Better Understanding of the Relation of Women to the Life We Are Living*. In Part VI it comes into the open. Had she written only this part she would have given meat for thought for many a day.

But the first part of the essay is as interesting though perhaps not so original and vital as the last. Here may be noted a marked reliance on Briffault. The support is well chosen. And the idea which is developed, namely that the creative intelligence of women functioned magnificently in the launching of civilization illustrates beautifully one of the by-products of the advances of anthropology. For so much are our determining ideas the result of the sifted choice of history's accumulation that a new interpretation may bring about the rejection of generally accepted notions and the substitution of something new that is compounded of ever present but misunderstood or little understood elements. This new thing may in its turn become a stimulating factor in the improvement of human life. It is this possibility that gives zest to the business of research and general intellectual life. He has played a trump card in the (if we but admit it) technical game of understanding modern life who



so applies the results of research that a new slant is given to one of the supposedly fixed factors in the kaleidoscopic modern scene.

I have spoken of the kaleidoscopic quality of our life. Mrs. Beard is more apt and draws upon the metaphor of the symphony. The suggestion, it may be suspected, came from the most poetic classicist of our day—Oswald Spengler. The impact of Spengler's ideas on Mrs. Beard was great and led to acceptance here and contraposition there. His sensing of the spirit of western life as symphonic she accepts. Opposite to his major premise of inevitable decline fulfilled in democratic organization she places the rise of the West in these manifestations: searching inquiry, accurate information, secular liberties, sensational tools for the exploitation of nature, labor movements, and consideration for the masses, democratic education, universal enfranchisement, racial catholicities, and a "humanism related to the care of all life that scientific advances alone could produce."

From this background came her plan and her justification. Briefly, her plan was to present her conception of the meaning of life and follow it with comments on the relation of women to the great phases of history. The first is accomplished in "The Symphony of Life." There follow annotations on women in the prehistoric period: "The Origin of Our Physical Comforts," in the classical period: "The Rise of Intellectualism" and "Our Great Precedent of Acquisitive Power and Pomp," in the medieval period: "Derivatives from the Age of the Gods," and finally in the modern period: "To the Conquest of the Earth." Such a plan may have its justification but it is too comprehensive for five hundred and thirty-two pages. As a consequence at times the middle portion of this work is too obviously an "injection of notes."

The justification for so comprehensive a plan may be found on page 32:

It is only by attempting to understand the wide course of civilization, therefore, that we can hope to understand women. . . . Through a widening of historical narration and interpretation, there may accompany the better understanding a discovery of those modes of social arrangement and control likely to develop the highest powers of men as well as women.

This leads me to a last remark. Mrs. Beard has discarded the almost outmoded feminist view and the sophisticate's view that



women are becoming like men—the idea of the “comrade.” Equality is no fetish with her. To her men are men and women are women and the greatest good for both will be in the free exercise of the different but complementary qualities of each. In the changing conception of the relation of women to life Mrs. Beard’s volume is important for three things, (1) She discards the sentimental approach by the use of anthropology. (2) She explains the holdover of an inadequate view of women by what Henry Adams calls the inertia of history and attacks it by means of social history. And (3) she avoids the pitfall of feminism. Henry Adams predicted that an understanding of the new woman would arrive by 1940. Towards that point Mary R. Beard’s *On Understanding Women* has carried us several leagues.

MARJORIE MENDENHALL.

Chapel Hill, N. C.



## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, *The North Carolina Booklet* and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates is requested to send them to A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at the regular price of \$2.00 per volume or 50 cents per number.

Miss Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem, who is a member of the editorial board of the *Review*, was awarded the honorary degree of Litt.D. on June 8, by Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa., in recognition of her historical research work. Miss Fries edited *The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 4 vols., published by the North Carolina Historical Commission, and has written several historical articles and books relating to the Moravians.

Mr. Harry Z. Tucker is the author of "The Story of Lucinda and Martha Martin," and "James Hunter, Chief Regulator," published in the *Greensboro Daily News*, June 19 and July 24, respectively.

Thomas Wolfe, noted North Carolina novelist, is a winner of the award of the second *Scribner's Magazine* \$5,000 long story contest. His story, "A Portrait of Bascom Hawke," appeared in the April issue of the magazine.

The North Carolina Department of the American Legion held its convention in Asheville, July 17-19. Mr. Bryce P. Beard of Salisbury was elected Department Commander, and Dr. A. R. Newsome of Raleigh was reelected Department Historian.



Mr. Carl Hammer is the author of an historical sketch of Organ Lutheran (1794) and Lowerstone Reformed (1811) churches in Rowan County, published in the *Greensboro Daily News*, August 28.

*The Spirit of Richmond*, a 36-page magazine devoted to the history and resources of Richmond County, was issued on July 28 by *The News-Messenger* of Hamlet, J. Neal Cadieu, editor, and *The Post-Dispatch* of Rockingham, Isaac S. London, editor. It contains historical articles by C. E. D. Egerton, Isaac S. London, Alice Gordon MacCreight, and "C. C."

The August issue of *The Log*, published by the Champion Fibre Company of Canton, contains a story of the historical evolution of the state song, "The Old North State," by Mrs. E. E. Randolph of Raleigh.

On July 4, in the historic Chowan County courthouse, was unveiled a tablet, presented by W. S. Summerell of Edenton, honoring the memory of William Roberts Skinner, Edenton's postmaster in 1845 and Chowan's representative, 1842, and clerk of the court, 1849-85. Mr. Charles Whedbee of Hertford delivered an historical address.

Mr. B. U. Ratchford was awarded the degree of Ph.D. in economics at Duke University in June. The subject of his dissertation was "A History of the North Carolina Debt, 1712-1900."

On August 30 the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776, which disrupted the British plan for the subjugation of North Carolina and the Southern colonies, was celebrated at Moore's Creek National Park by a sham battle, picnic dinner, and address by Col. James A. Moss, commander of the 17th Field Artillery at Fort Bragg.

An 89-page bibliography, *Agriculture of the American Indians*, has been issued by Everett E. Edwards, Associate Agricultural Economist, Division of Statistical and Historical Research, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.



United States Senator Joseph T. Robinson, chairman, and Congressmen Sol Bloom and Lindsay Warren, of the Roanoke Colony Commission created by the last Congress to report a plan for the participation of the United States government in a celebration in 1934 of the 350th anniversary of Sir Walter Raleigh's attempts to plant on Roanoke Island the first English colony in the New World, visited Roanoke Island on August 13-14 in pursuance of their duties. Mr. W. O. Saunders of Elizabeth City, president, Dr. Frank Graham of Chapel Hill, vice president, Dr. A. R. Newsome of Raleigh, secretary, and other members of the Roanoke Island Memorial Association, incorporated in January to make plans for a celebration in 1934, met with the United States Commission, which will make its report to the next Congress. The Dare County Chamber of Commerce gave a dinner to the Commission and the visitors at Manteo on August 13, and a luncheon at Kitty Hawk on the 14th.

The third issue of the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Record*, published quarterly by Clarence Griffin of Forest City, was issued in July. It contains "The Biggerstaff and Allied Families," by R. B. Babington; "Historical Sketch of Jackson County, N. C.," by John Parrish, Jr., and Clarence Griffin; "Edenton Honors Joseph Hewes," by Richard Dillard Dixon; news items; book notes; and genealogical queries.

The Raleigh Memorial Auditorium, erected in remembrance of the men and women of Raleigh and Wake County who have participated in war, was dedicated August 14. Addresses were delivered by Josephus Daniels and Henry L. Stevens. The auditorium is located at the foot of Fayetteville Street, facing the Capitol.

Mrs. John H. Anderson, Historian-General of the U. D. C., is the author of "The South and Education," published in *Confederate Veteran*, June, 1932.

Acknowledgment is made of the receipt of the following books: Louise Irby Trenholme, *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. 282. \$4.25); Wesley Frank Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. vi, 350. \$3.00); Charles J. Hoadley, *Early Letters and Documents*



*Relating to Connecticut, 1643-1709* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society. 1932. Pp. xv, 210); Miecislaus Haiman, *Poland and the American Revolutionary War* (Chicago: The Polish Roman Catholic Union of America. 1932. Pp. x, 208); Oskar Alfred Kubitz, *Development of John Stuart Mill's System of Logic* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press. Pp. 310. \$2.00); Bertha L. Heilbron, *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851. The Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer* (Saint Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society. 1932).

The following articles in periodicals are noteworthy: Randolph G. Adams, *Notes on Portraits of George Washington Owned in Michigan* (Michigan History Magazine, Summer Number); C. M. Andrews, *Virginia's Place in Colonial History* (The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, July); *Lower Norfolk County Records* (*ibid.*); Samuel M. Wilson, *George Washington's Contacts with Kentucky* (The Filson Club History Quarterly, July); J. G. deR. Hamilton, *Lincoln's Election an Immediate Menace to Slavery in the States?* (The American Historical Review, July); Henry J. Berkley, *Colonel Isaac Shelby and Other Maryland Heroes of the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780* (Maryland Historical Magazine, June); Paul H. Giddens, *Maryland and the Stamp Act Controversy* (*ibid.*); Gerald W. Johnson, *Since Wilson* (The Virginia Quarterly Review, June).

The thirty-second annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association will be held in Raleigh, December 1-2. President H. A. Garfield of Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., will deliver the principal address.

The chief accessions to the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission during the three months' period ending with August were: The Marmaduke J. Hawkins Collection of 1,179 political and business letters and papers, 1809-1909, 208 issues of North Carolina newspapers, 1872-1907, and 2 account books; a volume of army regulations which belonged to General Junius Daniel, C. S. A.; proceedings of the State Board of Elections, 1899-1901, presented by Mr. George D. McNeill of Fayetteville; a letter from Perrin Busbee to Mrs. James F. Taylor, 1837; diary of



Surgeon J. B. Clifton, 1863-64; two account books of Hindes and Kincey, Trent Bridge, 1831-33, presented by Mr. R. E. Mewborn, Kinston; additions to the Crabtree Jones Collection of 24 letters, 1826-73, 41 papers and an account book of N. Jones and Co., 1790-94; 337 Onslow County wills, 1746-1840; 999 Stokes County marriage bonds, 1851-68; memorial book of Joseph Dixon Rountree, Co. F, 28th Infantry, 1st Division, U. S. A., presented by Mrs. Lucy Rountree Cobb of Kinston; and the Thomas M. Pittman Collection of 494 letters, 1775-1901, 227 business papers, 1755-1812, 82 letters and papers of James Cary, Loyalist, 1776-1807, 50 Bute County records, 1771-79, 11 Warren County records, 1792-1804, 316 issues of newspapers, 404 pamphlets and broadsides, 2 maps, and more than 500 manuscript records of the War of 1861-65, presented by Mrs. Thomas M. Pittman, Raleigh.

Prof. R. D. W. Connor, head of the Department of History and Government at the University of North Carolina, has returned to his position after a year's study and travel in Europe.

Prof. E. M. Carroll has returned to the history department of Duke University after fifteen months' research in Germany and England. Mr. J. C. Roberts is a new instructor in the department, replacing Mr. E. T. Parks, who has gone to Berea College, Berea, Kentucky.



## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

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Dr. Ralph B. Flanders is an instructor of history in New York University.

Dr. Adelaide L. Fries is archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, and a member of the editorial board of *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

Rev. Douglas L. Rights is president of the Wachovia Historical Society.

Mr. Lester J. Cappon is research associate in the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences and archivist of the Library, University of Virginia.

Mrs. Lucia Burk Kinnaird is a former teaching fellow in political science, University of California.



THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON  
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT  
TO THE PRESENT TIME  
IN TWO VOLUMES  
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY  
OF THE BARRISTER AT LAW  
IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AND OF THE BARRISTER AT LAW  
IN MASSACHUSETTS  
LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1786.  
NEW-YORK: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, 1786.  
BOSTON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, 1786.



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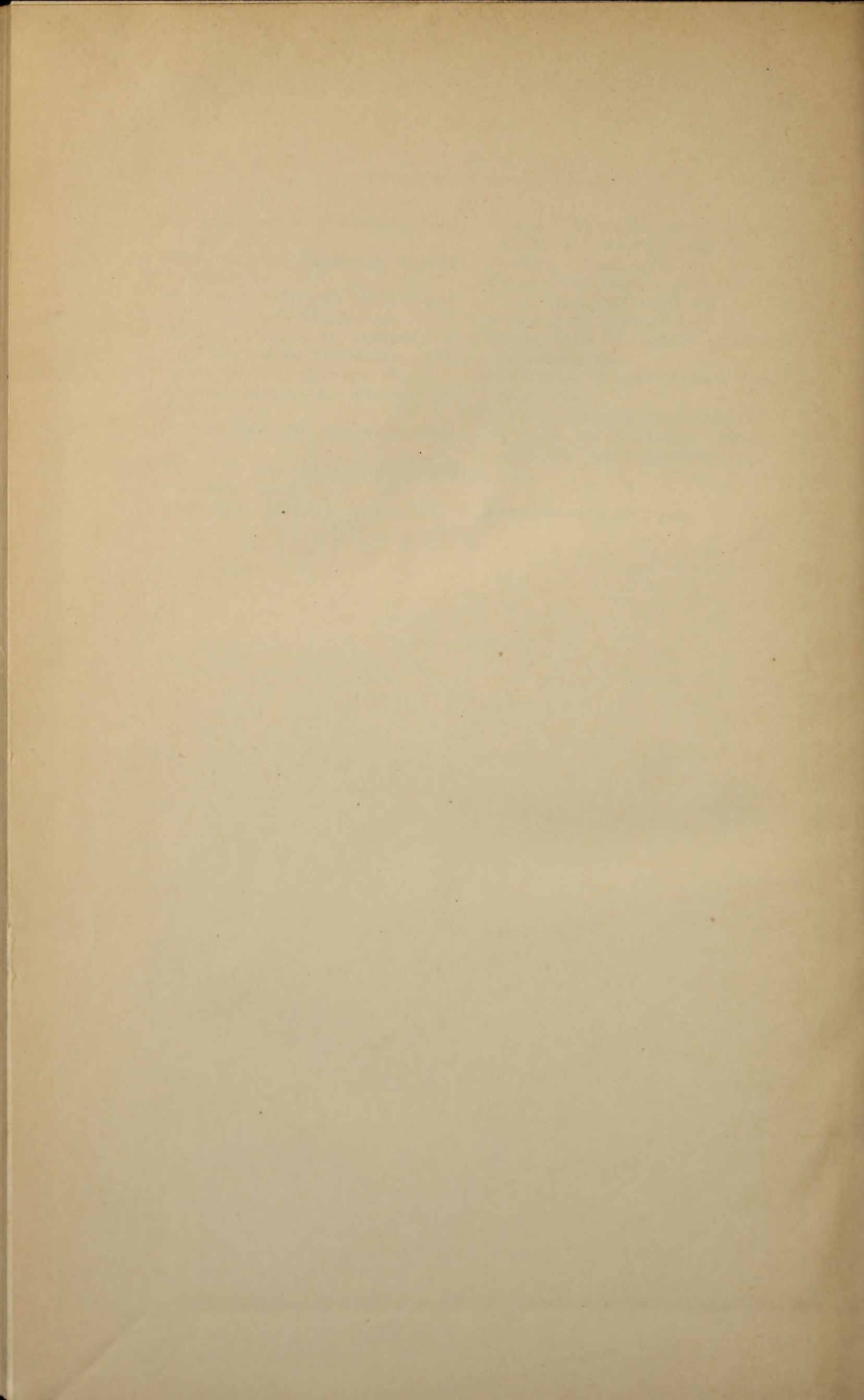


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